The Outlook

Vol. 66 October 20, 1900 No. 8

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The Outlook is a Weekly Newspaper and an Illustrated Monthly Magazine in one. It is published every Saturday—fifty-two issues a year. The first issue in each month is an Illustrated Magazine Number, containing about twice as many pages as the regular weekly issue, and many pictures.

Price.—The subscription price is Three Dollars a year, payable in advance. Ten cents a copy.

Postage is Prepaid by the publishers for all subscriptions in the United States, Canada, and Mexico. For all other countries in the Postal Union add $1.56 for postage.

Change of Address.—When a change of address is ordered, both the new and the old address must be given. The notice should be sent one week before the change is to take effect.

Discontinuances.—If a subscriber wishes his copy of the paper discontinued at the expiration of his subscription, notice to that effect should be sent. Otherwise it is assumed that a continuance of the subscription is desired.

How to Remit.—Remittances should be sent by Draft on New York, Express-Order, or Money-Order, payable to order of THE OUTLOOK COMPANY. Cash should be sent in Registered Letter.

Letters should be addressed:

THE OUTLOOK COMPANY

287 Fourth Avenue, New York

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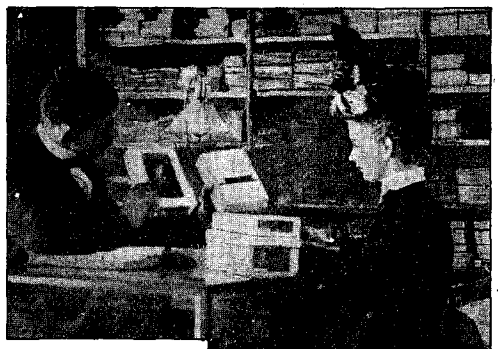

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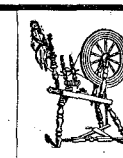

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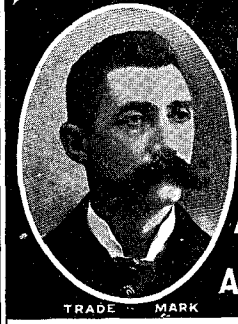

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The Outlook

Published Weekly

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The Coal Strike The pacific character of the anthracite coal strike was again interrupted last week by a conflict between marching strikers and "special policemen" at the Oneida Colliery near Hazleton. Stones were thrown and shots were exchanged by which one striker and one special policeman were killed. Each side claims that the other was responsible for the bloodshed. During the present strike the right of the strikers to march to adjacent collieries over the public roads has been generally conceded. In some instances they have exceeded their rights by crossing company property and thus brought themselves into conflict with the sheriff's deputies. These public officers seem to have conducted themselves well on all occasions, and the complaints of the miners against those guarding property rights are almost exclusively against the "Pinkertons" said to be employed by the companies. When the miners' convention assembled in Scranton, there was a revival of the reports that the offers of a ten per cent. advance made by most of the operators would be rejected, and a demand made for a series of concessions —including possibly the recognition of the Union. When, however, President Mitchell addressed the convention, it became clear that his influence, at least, was to be on the side of a speedy settlement. He went as far as a leader well could in warning his followers not to "overestimate their strength" or permit "the great organization which has been built up among you to be wrecked." He looked to the future, he said, for the establishment in the anthracite fields of "the same method of adjusting wage differences as now exists in the bituminous coal regions, where employers and miners' delegates meet in joint inter-State convention, and, like prudent, sensible men, mutually agree upon a scale of wages which remains in force for one year." When the convention closed, it was found that President Mitchell's influence had been dominant. The final decision reached was that all should return to work if all the operators agreed to grant the ten per cent. increase in wages until April 1 of next year, and those in the Schuylkill and Lehigh regions abolish the "sliding scale" by which the united action of all employees is rendered difficult. If these terms are rejected, the miners' convention asks that all questions at issue be submitted to impartial arbitration. As we go to press the answer of the operators is still uncertain.

❀

Coal, Iron, and Steel Americans may well take pride in the fact that they are now the masters of the world in the supply, not only of breadstuffs, cotton, copper, and provisions, but, since 1896, also in the supply of coal, iron, and steel. Last year the United States produced one-third of the world's iron ore. Much less than this proportion would give us the leadership. Our position, however, must be taken in connection with coal, a production on which the iron industry depends. In coal we also produce a third of the world's output. With primacy in both iron ore and coal, the position of the United States is of course one of undisputed ascendency in the control of the raw materials used in iron and steel production, and such a primacy gives to us a self-sufficing position as compared with that of our foremost rivals, Germany and Great Britain. Germany is compelled to rely upon Sweden for its iron ore, and England upon Spain. Here, on the contrary, our manufacturers are free to locate their iron and steel indus-

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tries with direct regard to maximum economy in the accumulation of raw materials and in the distribution of the finished product. As coke has displaced coal, the tendency all over the world is for the furnace to leave the colliery and to move toward the ore-mines. Our advantage in this respect as compared with foreign countries is manifest, and the past few years have seen a gradual building up of iron and steel industries within easy access of the vast ore deposit found in the Lake Superior mines. These furnish three-quarters of the ore consumed by our furnaces. American supremacy is emphasized by the impressive fact that we are not only the greatest producers of iron and steel; we are also the greatest consumers of iron and steel products. The increase in the volume of domestic demand has resulted in a gradual reduction in the cost of production, and this reduction equips us to enter the world's markets on a level with any competitor. Our present position in those markets is the more enduring because based on a rapidly enlarging home market, such as is enjoyed by no other nation. Of the world's pig-iron output, seven-tenths is made into steel. The transition from the iron to the steel age has been indicated most patently by the substitution in railway-building of steel for iron rails, though rails have ceased to be the chief form of steel production. Here again, as is pointed out in an interesting monograph just issued by the Treasury Bureau of Statistics, from which we have been quoting, the United States holds the primacy, now producing nearly two-fifths of the world's steel output. The development of domestic consumption is remarkable. It will be the better appreciated when we add that last year one city consumed a hundred and twenty-five thousand tons of steel for building purposes alone, and one car company actually required four hundred thousand tons to meet its annual contract.

❀

Savings and Prosperity A striking evidence of prosperity is found in the large recent increase of loans made by our banks, the loan aggregate being now nearly two billion seven hundred million dollars. Deposits have increased in like ratio. The most interesting statistics, however, in the report just made by the Comptroller of the Currency concern savings banks. There are now five million six hundred thousand depositors in them, owning two billion four hundred million dollars in deposits. The average account is nearly four hundred dollars. There has been an increase in depositors in mutual savings banks during the year of no less than three hundred thousand, and an increase in deposits of nearly a hundred and seventy-four million dollars. Such an increase in depositors and in deposits is evidence that there have been increased opportunities for labor during the year at good wages. This indication is confirmed by the report of the Hon. Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Labor, showing the rate of wages in various occupations, extending back in most cases from the present year to 1891. The data were secured from the pay-rolls of establishments in all sections of the country. The summary is as follows, the average of wages for 1891 being taken as a basis and representing 100:

Year.	Relative Wages.	Year.	Relative Wages.
1891	100.00	1896	97.93
1892	100.30	1897	98.96
1893	99.32	1898	98.79
1894	98.06	1899	101.54
1895	97.88	1900	103.43

There can be little doubt that these figures will furnish an effective argument among wage-earners against a change of National policy or in National administration, and particularly an effective argument with the depositors in savings banks against a change in currency which would threaten a serious reduction in the value of their deposits. Capitalists are instinctively conservative, and all savings-bank depositors are capitalists and belong to what is called "the creditor class."

❀

Street-Cleaning When Colonel Waring undertook to clean the streets of New York City several years ago, there were few who believed that he would be able to do it. The bad pavements seemed a physical obstacle almost insurmountable; the difficulty in securing good, honest, persistent, and unremitting work from laborers in public employ seemed to make the task impossible. But Colonel Waring did clean the streets, and he kept them

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clean. His admirable work reduced the death-rate in the metropolis, for his efforts were not exhausted in the central thoroughfares, but were as efficient in those somber localities where tenement-houses line each side of the way, and where human toilers are lodged as thickly as rabbits in a warren. This excellent work robbed winter of half of its terrors, and rubber shoes, which Emerson declared were the greatest invention of modern times, were in such scant demand that they fell in selling value. This was what Colonel Waring did for New York. But the influence of his work was felt in every city in America. Up to his advent as a street-cleaner no American city had ever been decently cleaned. Some cities were dirtier than others, but filth was the unlovely and disgraceful portion of all. His methods in time were adopted in nearly all the principal centers of population, and the improvement was soon very marked. There is scarcely a city or a town in the country which to-day is not much better off from the fact that he proved that what was before considered impossible was entirely practicable and feasible. Street-cleaners ten years ago were held in the same disesteem that has attached to scavengers from olden times. The occupation was thought to be the lowest of the low. But Colonel Waring raised the occupation to one of distinction, and no workers in the metropolis enjoyed a better repute than the industrious "White Wings" who swept and scoured the thoroughfares, rain or shine, as though their lives depended upon their industry and their thoroughness. When they went out to parade, there was no show which attracted greater attention, for New York, lacking though her people are in civic spirit, was proud of her street-cleaners and greatly pleased with their work.

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Tammany and the Streets When Colonel Waring went out of office, it was generally supposed that there would be a Tammany holiday and that the streets would soon relapse into their pre-Waring filthiness. But Tammany knew not what she did. The appointment was given to a man who was ambitious to do his duty, so he persevered in the Waring methods, and we were glad to believe that these methods would be permanent. This man, however, died about a year ago, and the place was given to a Tammany politician of the sporting type. He made a great bluster of clearing away the snow last winter, but from that time the streets in New York have been steadily getting dirtier. To-day they are not as dirty as they were before the Waring era, for when that began we had the accumulation of generations of filth. But they are as dirty as they can be considering the fact that a year ago they were admirably clean. Even Fifth Avenue is covered with a greasy black slime which none can escape. A year or four years ago in whatever direction one looked could be seen one or more of these white-clad men hard at work on the streets. Now these men are conspicuous by their absence. Yet there are as many on the pay-rolls as previously. Where are they? That is easy to answer. They are busily engaged in performing their political duties and making themselves "solid" with the organization which controls the metropolis as though its leaders owned it in fee. And so the streets are neglected. Perhaps New Yorkers deserve this, for New Yorkers put Tammany in power. But will this bad influence extend all over the country, as the Waring good influence did? That is a matter which should interest the people of other municipalities. It is so plainly for the good of all that city streets should be kept clean that it seems incredible that any political organization could be stupid enough to decree or even permit that there should be any neglect of this work. The street-sweepers themselves would rather work honestly and effectively and feel sure of their employment, while enjoying the respect of their fellow-men, than to be forced to neglect their work and engage in politics of the Croker order. They have not only said so, but they have shown that they liked it better. In New York, for the present, the people cannot help themselves, but in the other cities which have been improved and cleaned by the Waring method, and where no relapse has yet taken place, the people can be on the alert and prevent the adoption of this bad example and the undoing of the most signal civic good of the last generation. In the metropolis there are some specially powerful protests just now against Tammany filth, moral rather than physical.

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We hope that these protests will result in another reform administration.

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Mr. Schurz and Civil Service Reform

The retirement of Mr. Carl Schurz from the presidency of the Civil Service Reform League, on the ground that his sharp criticism of the Administration in the present campaign may react unfavorably on the influence of the League, is characteristic of a public man who, whatever his faults of judgment, has always held before himself and the country high ideals of public action. Mr. Schurz's devotion to many good causes has been conspicuous and unfaltering; and among them a first place must be given to Civil Service Reform. In season and out of season, from the very beginning, Mr. Schurz has stood for the principle that public office is a public trust; that the business of the Government should be separated from politics; that only competent men should be put in executive and administrative positions, and that, having been put there, they should be undisturbed by the mutations of party fortunes. He succeeded George William Curtis in the presidency of the Civil Service Reform League; and it is the highest praise to say that he has sustained the tradition of disinterestedness, fearlessness, and dignity which Mr. Curtis has associated with the leadership of the League. Justice has not yet been done, and is not likely to be done for a long time, to the work of the early Civil Service Reformers; nor is their work appreciated. Not until the boss system is destroyed, root and branch, will the people of the United States comprehend clearly what a blight it has been upon our political development, how antagonistic it has been in spirit to a democratic order of society, and how much it has done to debase our practical politics. Mr. Jenks, Mr. Curtis, Mr. Schurz, Mr. Eaton, and the group of able men who led the movement for the reform of the Civil Service, have done as much as any men in our later history to purify American public life, to secure trained service in all departments of Government work, and to destroy the demoralizing and degrading conception of politics which has borne its fruit in machines and bosses and the distribution of offices as party rewards.

The English Elections

The Parliamentary elections in Great Britain are now practically ended; the seven which remain to be held this week cannot materially change the result. As compared with its position last week, the Government has sustained a decided loss; that is to say, it has now an increased majority of one as compared with an increased majority of seven; but, with a majority of about a hundred and fifty, half a dozen seats do not count. It probably would have been better for the Conservatives if they had lost a considerable number of seats and were facing the prospect of having to meet a united and powerful opposition in the House. The result must be regarded as a distinct victory for the Ministry. After five years of dealing with many difficult and perplexing questions full of the elements of division, it has been returned by a majority practically as great as that with which it first went into office; and its popular majority has been immensely increased. This gain has been made in the manufacturing districts and in the great centers of population where, as a rule, changes of public opinion are to be looked for. The significant fact about the election is the disclosure of the attitude of the English people in regard to Lord Salisbury's foreign policy. That policy has received unequivocal indorsement. Whatever question there may have been about the justice or the wisdom of precipitating war in the Soudan, much more of precipitating it in South Africa, a great majority of the English people have expressed their conviction that the war was inevitable and that the Government has conducted it, on the whole, with conspicuous success. In some form, the policy of what is known as Imperialism has behind it the vast majority of the English people, who have affirmed that the great burdens which England has assumed cannot be honorably laid down. The Liberals who have held their own with the constituencies are those who have favored what they call Liberal Imperialism; that is to say, a policy of expansion which shall be carried out along lines of justice and in a spirit of moderation. The small group of men who are opposed to expansion in any form have practically disappeared from sight, so far as popular support is concerned. Mr.

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Chamberlain has been so aggressive that he has called out attacks of an unusually personal character; it is even said that no Parliamentary campaign for many years has been so bitter and has elicited so much ill feeling, and the introduction of these elements is explained by Mr. Chamberlain's trenchant and successful personality. His is not the spirit which has inspired great English statesmen; but he has had the sagacity, in spite of many mistakes, to discern the drift of recent history, and to take advantage of movements which he did not initiate, but of which he has become in a way the exponent. He is gravely distrusted by Conservative men of his own party, by the Tory element, and by moderate men of every party; and, although his influence is likely to be great, it is not likely that he will have entirely free scope for the working out of his schemes.

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The English Church and Parliament

An ecclesiastical interest has not been apparent to us in the recent Parliamentary elections. It has, however, been pushed and felt, although eclipsed at this distance by the overshadowing political issues arising from the South African war. The Protestant party in the Established Church has been divided as to the expediency of further legislation to strengthen the existing legal safeguards of its Protestant character. Those who are convinced of its necessity have exerted themselves effectively. The well-informed London correspondent of the Birmingham "Post" quotes the officials of the Church Association as now reckoning on about two hundred English and Welsh candidates as pledged to the measures which they hold necessary to be enacted to restrain the innovations of the Romanizing clergy in the Establishment. The Parliamentary agents of the Association are said to report without exception the exhibition of a strong determination on the part of laymen to maintain inviolate the Protestant character of the State Church. This feeling is most strongly exhibited at the north in Lancashire, and almost as strongly in parts of the Midlands, as well as in the eastern counties, the early stronghold of Puritanism. Among the novel features of the present conditions, a correspondent of the "English Churchman" mentions a perceptible reflux of the current which for years Nonconformists have lamented as setting from the Free Churches toward the State Church through various social attractions. Many Churchmen, he complains, are driven by ritualistic doctrine and the lawless innovations of the clergy to worship in Nonconformist chapels. But they cannot feel at home where, as he says, the minister does everything except the singing. Accordingly, they wish that the Nonconformists would enrich the meager service by adopting the Litany, the General Thanksgiving, and a few collects from the Prayer-Book. The fact is that many of the Free Churches, particularly the Congregational and Wesleyan, have already adopted from the Prayer-Book the General Confession, the General Thanksgiving, and a variety of the collects. Such enrichment of the service, which is gradually advancing here as well as there, seems to depend largely, just like the ritualistic innovations, on the disposition of the minister in charge.

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The Canadian Elections

Though the Dominion Parliament was dissolved by an Order-in-Council on the 8th of October last and the date of the election announced, the campaign had already been in progress for weeks in anticipation of the announcement. It continues to be a campaign marked by high spirit and considerable bitterness. The election will be held on November 7. It is for the purpose of selecting members of the lower house. The upper house, or Senate, is appointed by the party in power, the members holding office for life. Canadian elections are held once in five years, but the date is never known until the party in power chooses to divulge it. It may fix the date at any time within a period of several months, so that it has the opportunity to suit its own interests. The nominations will be held one week before the election, October 31. Any man may be nominated who can secure the co-operation of twenty-five electors in his district and who will place two hundred dollars with the returning officer. In case the candidate is elected, the money is refunded to him; in case he loses, he forfeits the

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whole amount. The fight is between two parties. The Liberal party, now in power, overthrew the Conservatives four years ago, after the latter had been in power eighteen years. The Conservative party longs to be restored to its former position. The Liberals claim that, in the four years since Sir Wilfrid Laurier has been Prime Minister, the Dominion has advanced as it never could have advanced under Conservative rule, and that to return to Conservative authority would be disastrous. The reduction of the postage on letters between the United States and Canada from three to two cents, and between Great Britain and Canada from five to two cents; the favorable progress in railway construction; the promotion of the export of farm products; the removal of the American quarantine on Canadian cattle; the marked increase in immigration, particularly from the United States; the establishment of a stable government in the Yukon gold district; the sending of many troops to South Africa, in the face of opposition of various kinds; finally, the tariff readjustment set in motion by the Liberals—these things are claimed by them as productive of enormous good to the Dominion. On the other hand, the Conservatives claim that the new tariff has wrought untold injury to Canada by bringing American labor into competition with Canadian, to the detriment of the latter; that a market for many millions of dollars' worth of goods has been made for the United States in Canada which should have been supplied by Canadian manufacturers; that Premier Laurier has not been true to his prohibitionist principles, but is now seeking the support of the liquor element; that the affairs of the Liberal Government have been conducted with extravagance, and that the Manitoba school question has not been satisfactorily settled. A curious feature of the election is that the voters in one of the large and thinly populated districts of the province of Ontario, lying along the northern shore of Lake Superior, and having the small cities of Port Arthur and Fort William as its principal municipalities, will not cast their ballots until a week or ten days after the election is over. In former years, when the district was first settled, it was impossible for the messengers bearing the official placards announcing the election to post them in all parts of the district in time for the voters to assemble upon the day of the general election. The issuance of the proclamations still keeps these voters from the franchise until after the voting in the rest of the Dominion is concluded. In case there should be a very close election, the votes of this district might become objects of great interest to the two parties.

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The Governor-General of Australia

The recent departure from England of the Earl of Hopetoun to assume the functions, now to be exercised for the first time, of Governor-General of the new Commonwealth of Australia, recalls the fact that a generation has passed since the constitution of an English-speaking nation by the Act of 1867, establishing the Dominion of Canada. The new nation of our race beneath the Southern Cross has had a growth which is one of the marvels of this century, and now, with a territory equal to our own, apart from Alaska, has a population equal to ours when we were made a nation by the adoption of our Constitution. The Australian Commonwealth, with a constitution modeled, with some difference, after ours, will enjoy even more of national independence than the Dominion of Canada in having the right of appeal to the Privy Council limited to questions of imperial interest, matters purely Australian being determined in Australia. Lord Hopetoun is no stranger to Australia, having held the office of Governor of Victoria from 1889 to 1895. He brings to his high office such knowledge of the conditions with which he has to deal as justifies confidence in his ability to harmonize the conflicting interests which legislation has consolidated into formal unity. The presence of the Duke of York at the opening of the Australian Parliament will be a picturesque demonstration of the imperial unity, which the new commonwealth affirms with a loyalty that was indubitably demonstrated by its reinforcement of the British arms in South Africa.——In that country imperial unity is receiving a new impetus by the peculiarly fine work done during the last fortnight by the victors of Kandahar and Khartum, men supposed to be

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great leaders in dashing action rather than in dull administration. But Lords Roberts and Kitchener are showing that they know, beyond their fellows, how not only to achieve but to maintain order in the Transvaal and in the Orange River Colony.

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The Norwegian Elections The political situation in Norway does not appear to have been changed by the elections just held. This occasion was the first under the new suffrage law by which every citizen over twenty-five years of age who is not a convicted criminal or an object of public charity has the right to vote. The members of the Storthing or Parliament are now elected in practically the same way as the President and Vice-President of the United States. The voters cast their ballots for a limited number of electors. These in their turn ballot for members of the Storthing. While the result of the elections is a net loss of two seats to the Radicals, they still hold twice as many as do the Conservatives. There is, therefore, not much appreciable loss of strength to those who have so long been preaching a crusade against monarchism in general, but especially against that form by which Norway is governed from Sweden. The Storthing has recently passed a number of measures not altogether agreeable to the King. By one of these a new flag was adopted in which the token of union with Sweden was omitted, and, what is more, the King was actually compelled to accept the flag as official. While Norway has long had its own legislature and its own ministry, the Norwegians have now legally established the separation of the two countries in diplomatic and consular affairs, and it is difficult to see how the King can withhold his veto from the diplomatic bill which has passed the Storthing. If he does not veto the measure, he might find himself at once in alliance and at enmity with the same power, for he would be represented by two diplomatic corps. Again, and ludicrously enough, as King of Norway he would have to accredit his personal diplomatic representatives to the King of Sweden, and, as King of Sweden, his representatives to the King of Norway. Finally, the monarch understands perfectly that in any event the bill will become law, since his veto can be exercised only twice; if a measure pass three Storthings, it becomes the law of the land. Fortunately for both Norwegians and Swedes, they could hardly have a wiser, more tactful, or more patient sovereign than Oscar II.

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China: The Diplomatic Situation The principal event last week in the Chinese diplomatic situation was the reply of Secretary Hay to the French note relating to the bases of peace negotiations. The Government of the United States is not behind other governments in recognizing as the object to be obtained from the Chinese Government appropriate reparation for the past and substantial guarantees for the future. Its suggestions are as follows: (1) Touching the punishment of guilty persons, the representatives of the Powers at Peking may suggest additions to the list indicated by the Chinese Government; (2) regarding the continuance of the interdiction against the importation of arms, our Government understands that such interdiction is not to be permanent; (3) with respect to a permanent guard of the Peking legations and (4) to the military occupation of the Tientsin-Peking road our Government is unable to make any permanent engagement without the authorization of the legislative branch; (5) concerning the dismantling of the Taku forts an expression of opinion is reserved; (6) finally, regarding the matter of indemnities, the suggestion of the Russian Government is recommended by our own, that the question be left to the consideration of the Hague International Tribunal. This seems to us admirable, and we are glad to have America second the proposal of a resort to this tribunal. The suggestion apparently meets with little favor in Germany, however; it is ridiculed by the press, with the exception of the "Vorwärts" (Socialist), which indorses the plan and says: "A just court would award higher damages to China than to the allies, who, by their system of conquest and exploitation, provoked the present rising." At all events, the suggestion promises to give the first practical realization to the Czar's intention in calling an international Peace Congress to

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meet at The Hague. The resultant court of arbitration received the approval of the various Governments represented. As an example of what will follow in the matter of indemnities, Mr. Tewksbury, an American missionary at Tungchau, near Peking, has already presented claims on behalf of converts in twenty villages for compensation on account of property losses.

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China: The Southern Rising Last week by far the principal event in China was the accentuation of the rising in the southern provinces. This rising is a fulfillment of the prophecy made months ago by foreign residents in those provinces that mob rule would follow the abandonment by Li-Hung-Chang of the viceroyship of the province of Kuangtung, and his departure from Canton, the capital of that province. That this has not been alarmingly the case hitherto is due to the firmness of the viceroys residing at Nanchang, Hankau, Hangchau, and Fuchau, capitals of provinces immediately north. However, the viceroy of the adjoining province on the west, Kuangsi, has not been equally firm; he has permitted his subjects to cross the border and double the rebel force in the neighborhood of Canton. These rebels are Triads and anti-foreigners: they have no wish to further domestic reforms. It is not known to what extent the followers of real Cantonese reformers like Sun-Yat-Sen and Kang-Wu-Wei are implicated in the present movement. Five years ago the first named organized a conspiracy at Hongkong to seize the viceroy and then overthrow the Manchu dynasty, and finally establish a constitutional government for China. Branch organizations were established in America and Europe, and it is alleged that Chinese graduates of Harvard and Yale were among the conspirators. The movement led by Kang-Wu-Wei, while agitating for as drastic reforms as the other, stoutly supported Kuangsu as Emperor; indeed, it won him to its view. This victory, most significant in itself, was, after all, the main cause of the present unrest, foreign commercial aggression being secondary. The insurgents have marched eastward from Canton. During the week several thousand of them repeatedly defeated the Imperial troops sent against them, destroyed five missions, and captured the important cities of Tungkuan and Weichau, thus substantiating the supposition that their plan was to push along the coast to the ports of Swatau and Amoy, places until now comparatively free from Chinese aggression. The rising has called for prompt British action, and ten thousand additional troops from India have been ordered to Hongkong and its recently enlarged province, Kaulun. A notable event in the north last week was the movement of five thousand German, British, French, and Italian troops, commanded by Count von Waldersee, toward Paoting, the scene of the most widespread massacre of missionaries. The absence of Russian and Japanese troops is perhaps significant; our own have already withdrawn from campaigning in China. Admiral Remey has sailed from Taku to Chifu, the first stage in the removal of the Asiatic station headquarters back to Manila. Further north we find Russian reinforcements hurried from Niuchang to relieve the pressure on Mukden, the capital of Manchuria. Every place of importance in that province is now in Russian hands.

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Missionaries from China The presence of missionaries from China was the chief feature of the annual meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions last week at St. Louis. The meeting might well have been called "The China Conference," since events in that country and the outlook there overshadowed everything else. The missionaries from North China had fled across the desert of Gobi, and then traveled through Siberia and Europe; those from the south came directly to America. Most of the missionaries met one another at St. Louis before returning to their homes, and the meeting was a memorable one for them as well as for those who heard them. An impressive incident of the conference was the reading by President Capen of an autograph letter from Mr. Conger, our Minister to China, thanking the missionaries for their assistance during the siege of Peking. Of the missionaries from North China the Rev. Dr. Stanley told of native Chinese women so firmly rooted in Christianity that during

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the persecution they stimulated the faith of their husbands by warning them, "If you recant, we will never acknowledge you as husbands again." A melancholy interest attached to the address of the Rev. Dr. Atwood, the only survivor of the Shansi Mission. The Rev. Dr. Noble declared that "there are thousands of Chinese who in their hearts believe the truth that we proclaim, but who, through fear of the officials and of ostracism, have hidden the light which has found its way into their hearts." The Rev. Dr. Ingraham, of the North China Mission, thrilled the audience by his description of the siege of Peking. He said in part:

Our fortifications were so weak that they seemed like paper. They would crumble down in a night, and then we would have to fall to work with all our might to build them up again. When the relief came, you can imagine how we felt. We were being besieged the hardest of any time during the fifty-five days. The attack lasted all night, and none of us had any sleep. About 2:30 in the morning we heard a drumming. It seemed to be far off. Nobody said anything for a while, because we were afraid that we did not understand what it meant—we had been fooled so many times with heavy cannonading. Now it was the drumming of the machine guns that we heard—a sound quite different; but we dared not speak. It was music. I don't think any one spoke anything at all until after we had heard the sound for fully fifteen minutes. Then we heard the heavier guns; we were sure, and we all thanked God.

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Missionaries in China As was fitting, the theme of President Capen's first annual address was "Our Missionary Copartnership." He declared that we were apparently entering upon two conflicts. The first is the new civilization of the West, as represented by America and Europe, against that of the East, as represented by China. "As we enter into this first conflict, cannot we see the wonderful providence by which we have Japan with us? Suppose no missionary had entered the Mikado's Empire?" asked Mr. Capen, "and that Empire stood where it did in 1872; instead of her present position as our firm ally, permitting us to use her soil for the transshipment of troops and munitions of war, and having a finely equipped army of her own, which has received the commendation of the world, we should have her with China as an opponent." Secondly, there is the contest between the Teutonic race (including the Anglo-Saxon) on the one side, and the Slav (represented especially by Russia) on the other. "No one can have watched the course of the latter in her steady crowding of England at every point without feelings of suspicion. Russia has built a great railway to within a few miles of Herat, the key to England's possessions in India, and not far away is an immense army which Russia can mobilize for service at a few hours' notice. She has stretched another great railway through Siberia to the China seas. Along her Asiatic frontier she has half a million men. She has recently guaranteed a Persian loan, and one item of the guaranty is the income from the Persian ports on the Gulf. She has secured an impregnable position at Port Arthur, and a foothold in Korea." Mr. Capen thus comprehensively indicated Russia's purpose to control Asia, and added that, whatever may be true of the present Czar, the Russian Government is the enemy of all our missionary work, as was evidenced by its course during the Armenian outrages. Again, Russia's course in Finland, violating the most sacred pledges, shows anew how little she can be trusted. Under these conditions, concludes Mr. Capen, we must hail the closer drawing together of America, England, and Germany—countries representing the spirit of religious freedom. To the question, "Is the American Board going to give up mission work in China?" its President replied emphatically, "No, even though we must delay for proper safeguards. We hear discussion about taking down the flag after it has once been unfurled, but we must never consent to taking down the Cross."

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Dr. Smith's Appeal On behalf of missionaries in China, Dr. Judson Smith made a striking appeal. He called attention to the immense importance of China to-day. "The daily press quotes news from that country in the first place even in the midst of a great Presidential campaign, and there is reason for it. The questions at issue bear not on China's millions alone, but also on the fortunes of the whole world." It is not simply the Boxer rebellion that has led to this result, said Dr. Smith; "there is

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something more than the fate of a dynasty at issue; more even than the uprising of a nation to drive out the hated foreigner." Conservatism as to the past struggles against the progress animating and uniting Europe and America. "A world-crisis has been reached, the destiny of all the nations is involved, and China is the theater on which the great drama is enacting. . . . The old China has run its course and is passing away. . . . It cannot shake off its connections with the rest of the world and go back to darkness and stagnation without injury to every other nation. As a derelict, it may wreck even the strongest that sail the sea of progress. For this reason," declared Dr. Smith, "America, England, Russia, Germany, are safeguarding their own futures while they take in hand the Celestial Empire." All this is, of course, supremely interesting in its connection with missionary work. Dr. Smith believes that the wholesale assault on the native Christian Church and on the mission enterprise from which it sprang was instigated by a true instinct. It was because the missionary enterprise is the most deeply seated of all foreign influences in China, is the widest in its reach, and is intrinsically the most active and enduring force working toward the uplifting of the Nation. "To some degree the ruling powers in China recognize what the great Roman Emperors of the second and third centuries felt, that there is a necessary conflict between heathenism and Christianity, and that Christianity, unhindered, builds a new heaven and a new earth, in which there can be no room for the ancient darkness and misrule." Great as is the present calamity to the mission boards, Dr. Smith declares with justice that the missionaries can no more retreat or abandon the work than the Church could abandon Rome when its martyrs fell. Rome did not crush the early Church; and, unless all signs fail, this day of bloodshed and loss is sure to be followed by an immense enlargement of missionary opportunities in China. The only part of the discussion which met with marked criticism was a reference to Roman Catholic missionaries, intimating that they had followed questionable methods and had justly laid themselves open to certain charges. The Rev. Dr. Stimson, of New York, a former pastor of the Pilgrim Church, where the sessions of the Board were held, well said in reply:

It can be a source of joy to no Christian heart to be told of mistakes made by Roman Catholic missionaries in their policy in China. In this city, the heart of the largest Jesuit province in the world except New Orleans, we are glad to remember that it is due to the Jesuits alone that there is any respect for Christianity in the Philippine Islands. During the Middle Ages the Roman Catholic missionaries opened the way for missions in China, and kept Christianity alive there. They will correct their mistakes of policy if they have made them, as we will ours, and their faith will grow brighter and purer with their persecutions and martyrdom, as we hope will our own.

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Christian Influences on Governor's Island

An interesting event to all Young Men's Christian Association workers was the dedication last week of the Association building on Governor's Island in New York Harbor, a building said to be the first one of its kind erected for the exclusive use of soldiers. As is well known, for some years the Association has done work among soldiers, but always in a tent or in a corner of the barracks. A year ago it was decided to erect a permanent home on Governor's Island, and, General Merritt obtaining permission of the Department, the building became a reality by reason of the generosity of Mr. Dodge, Miss Gould, and other benefactors. As was fitting, General Brooke, Commander of the Department of the East, with headquarters at Governor's Island, delivered the principal address. He said that the superabundance of animal spirits sometimes leads the soldier into places where he should not go, "but this Association can carry him with it wherever it may try. In time this room will not hold the members of the Association of the garrison. I wish to congratulate those who were instrumental in erecting this building, and say that they can never call upon me without a hearty response so far as I am able to give it." General Joseph Wheeler—"Fighting Joe"—said in part: "The first impressions of people who come to our country are generally the most lasting and the strongest. When we reflect that ships coming from foreign lands sail by this island, while upon their decks stand strangers eagerly listening to those who point out the buildings of interest, how pleasant it will be to point to the left to

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the Statue of Liberty, and then point to the right and say, 'That is Governor's Island. It is a post where soldiers are garrisoned; and that building you see is erected by the good people of New York to bring Christian influences to the soldiers." He was impressed with the fact that upon the American soldier there rests a peculiar responsibility. "Our country has become one of the great powers of the earth, and the future of humanity will largely be influenced by our Government. Every soldier who marches under our flag must understand and be taught that when he lands upon other shores American civilization, American humanity, and American Christianity will be measured by the standard he establishes in that far-off land." Christian teachings are essential to true, devoted patriotism, declares General Wheeler, adding: "We none of us want war. We all hope for peace, but it seems in the inscrutability of Providence that force is sometimes necessary to break away barriers which hold back the advance of civilization. This kind of force means war." The Outlook would again point out that while valuable influences are being exercised also at Fort Wood and at Fort Wadsworth, the most interesting work among soldiers is that now accomplished by the Association at the various camps in the Philippines and in China.

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The Young Men's Christian Association Railway Work

With the acuteness characterizing Nicholas II. in many a department of his government, he sent Messrs. Reitlinger and Schidlowski, Russian railway officials, as his personal delegates to the international meeting of the Railway Branch of the Young Men's Christian Association at Philadelphia last week. The young monarch thus shows a practical evidence of his interest in religious, social, and relief work as applied to the Russian railways. This action is due to some extent to the initiative of Prince Khilkov, Imperial Minister of Railways, who had his early education in this country and has been a close imitator of American methods in many directions, and also to the appeal of Mr. Hicks, one of the Secretaries of the International Committee, who, at the Emperor's special invitation, went to Russia a year ago. The German delegate was Herr Paul Glasenapp, of the German Embassy in Washington.—— The plan for educational work put forth by the Young Men's Christian Association of Cleveland has met with deserved success. The necessity for its carrying educational courses into the shops and factories of the city arose from the crowded condition of the Association's building; no more classes were possible, but increasing numbers of men were willing to study if classes could be provided. Several employers had evinced an interest in such work to the extent of sending their men to the Association and paying all the expense, including membership and class fees. On the proposition by the Association that it send out teachers to the men employed in various factories, favorable replies were received from the employers, and arrangements were soon made. In one factory alone one hundred and ten men are now studying arithmetic, English, and mechanical drawing. A light, warm room is provided by the employers, and all the expenses of this room, together with the salary of the teacher, are borne by them; the men pay nothing. They do pay, however, for a supper served at the close of the day's work, and by 5:30 P.M. they are at work at their lessons. At 6:30, or, at the latest, seven o'clock, they have finished these, and go to their homes with nearly an entire evening before them. We trust that this praiseworthy initiative will be followed all over the country.

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Population and the Churches

An astonishing ecclesiastical and sociological situation was recently brought to light by a canvass of certain parts of New York City. In two assembly districts of the borough of Manhattan, though two hundred Protestant churches have parishioners, there are nearly twenty-five hundred families without, and only thirty-three hundred families with, a church home. Church work is more difficult in Manhattan than in most places because of (1) the congestion of population, (2) its racial diversity, and (3) the small percentage of residence-owners. Nor are these factors and their inevitable results wanting in the borough of Brooklyn. The Seventeenth Ward, the Greenpoint section, is a good example. Its popula-

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tion of nearly sixty thousand souls is more than half foreign; it has representatives of twenty-five nationalities. One-fifth of the people have no church home, the Hebrews having the highest percentage and Protestantism being next to the synagogue in inefficiency, one-third of its families having no church home; while only one-twelfth of the whole number of Roman Catholic families find place in such a category. Housing and cleanliness are also tabulated. In the ward there are over five thousand three hundred families without a bath, and nearly three thousand without a private toilet. While the average number of rooms per family is 4.4, one-third of these are rooms without windows opening to the outer air. With such statistics, taken at random, as these from the reports of the Federation of Churches and Christian Workers, we agree with Dr. Laidlaw, its Executive Secretary, that the remedy cannot lie in the increase of the Protestant communions now at work, nor in the increase of the churches. The remedy is to be sought in co-operation. The isolated religious and social activity of a single church, as Dr. Laidlaw says, cannot discover, through a whole ward, families potentially connectable with it, and, for this reason, few churches endeavor to make their work cover the whole community. The churches must know that there are families to whom their communion is spiritually serviceable above any other, and yet of whom they know nothing. Hitherto they have been unable to help such families, religiously and socially.

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The Federation of Churches and Christian Workers

Henceforth the families can be reached. The Federation of Churches and Christian Workers has made this possible by its canvasses, even though these canvasses must be continually repeated; in the Greenpoint district, for example, only about a tenth of all the families own their own dwelling, hence nine-tenths are lessees and may move at any time. Again, in this district there are seven saloons to every church, and two-thirds of the saloons occupy corner lots. The co-operation and federation of churches there as everywhere is a gain socially as well as religiously. Saloons which are also disorderly houses will undo the religious work of many a Sunday and season; they can be proceeded against only by a method representing the entire Christian community. No matter how much outside legal aid be employed, Dr. Laidlaw declares, such a work will be permanent only if local force is behind it. Every Christian in every place must ask himself: Is the church keeping pace with the increase of population? So far as the metropolis is concerned this inquiry is being answered from month to month through the admirable work done by the Federation—a work worthy to be followed in every community. The Federation is publishing a monthly paper at a dollar a year. Those who have become interested in what has been aptly called "the most valuable sociological experiment of our time" should subscribe for it; its office is at No. 11 Broadway. The cost of the Federation's canvass ranges from three-quarters of a cent to one cent per person of the population. This amount of money is to be raised by the local and other churches. There is need, however, for private contributions to supplement these, in order that there may be a greater amount of work done, and that the public may quickly be acquainted with conditions in many instead of in few districts.

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The Westminster Confession

The Presbyterians of Brooklyn who have sat under the teachings of the Rev. Dr. Henry van Dyke, Sr., and the Rev. Dr. John Fox, may have been somewhat surprised by a sermon on Sunday of last week from their new pastor, the Rev. Alexander McGaffin, a sermon in which the preacher declared that, (1) historically, Presbyterianism is a form of church polity and not a system of doctrine; (2) that, historically, Calvinism is distinctively Presbyterianism only in the matter of church polity; and (3) that Calvinism itself is new and original, not in doctrine, but in its political and ecclesiastical features, and with these Presbyterianism is to be identified. Mr. McGaffin traced the history of the Protestant Church from the time when it established itself as a distinctive feature of the Reformation in the independent

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and republican city of Geneva, through the reigns of Elizabeth, James, and Charles, to the Long Parliament. Throughout all this time, maintained the speaker, there was no dispute among Presbyterians and Episcopalians and Independents or Congregationalists in matters of creed, but only concerning the question of church government. Mr. McGaffin pointed out the unceasing efforts of Presbyterians to abridge the control of the Crown over the Church, and to get a Scriptural rather than an official form of church government. In its essence Presbyterianism is a form of church polity, said the preacher, "and we dim the glory of our achievements if we identify it with any Confession of Faith." The revision by the Westminster Assemblies of the Articles of Faith of the English Church resulted in embodying the views of Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Independents alike, and was in no sense distinctively Presbyterian. "The question of the present day is whether we shall alter or replace our Confession, and some seem to think that, if we do, we shall lose our identity. This is impossible, however, for we do not need our Confession of Faith to retain our Presbyterianism."

We think that Mr. McGaffin is clearly right, as matter of history, in affirming that Presbyterianism is not distinctively Calvinistic in doctrine, because in the old days all the churches accepted the five points of Calvin; and that it cannot be differentiated from the reformed Churches by calling it a Church with a Calvinistic creed; it is distinctively Calvinistic only in its form of church government. Theologically, Calvinism is only a restatement of Augustinianism, and Calvin's only new point was that on earth God's authority devolved upon men, and not upon a king or bishop. "We shall lose our identity," said the preacher, "if we tie ourselves to a creed formulated two hundred and fifty years ago. Presbyterianism will be no longer the genial friend and companion of this modern world over whose birth it stood guard. There may be things in the Westminster Confession that ought not to be there, and there may be things absent which should be there. We must not be identified with any creed, but only with Christianity. We are Presbyterians because we practice the Christian religion under a Calvinistic form of church government. Hence, when they ask you, 'What about the Confession of Faith?' say that, as the Presbyterian of the seventeenth century demanded a fuller liberty for the individual and a more Scriptural form of church life, so the true Presbyterian of the twentieth century claims a greater personal freedom in matters of belief, and hopes that the newer things God has been saying these many years may find a place in our Church's Confession, even though it mean the displacement of the old standards by the work of a new Assembly in a land where no Stuart threatens and the Church is free indeed."

There has been no more remarkable recent address on the Westminster Confession than this one, delivered in the Second Presbyterian Church of Brooklyn. The Presbyterian Church has been latterly so much the center of ecclesiastical discussion that in the popular idea the Westminster Confession has come to be regarded as the essence of the Church. Without assaulting or defending that Confession, Mr. McGaffin wisely points out what many seem to forget, namely, that Presbyterianism is not a church doctrine, but a church polity.

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"Manufacturing Aristocracy"

I am of opinion, upon the whole, that the manufacturing aristocracy which is growing up under our eyes is one of the harshest which ever existed in the world; but at the same time it is one of the most confined and least dangerous. Nevertheless, the friends of democracy should keep their eyes anxiously fixed in this direction; for if ever a permanent inequality of conditions and aristocracy again penetrate into the world, it may be predicted that this is the gate by which they will enter.

So wrote that most prophetic of political writers, Alexis de Tocqueville, in his "Democracy in America," over sixty years ago. By our protective system and our special legislation we have done what we could to create and develop this "manufacturing aristocracy;" and, mitigated as it is by the influence of Christianity and restrained as it is by the spirit of democracy, The Outlook cannot doubt that it really exists, that what are called "trusts" are but one manifestation of it, and that it is a real though we do not think a

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serious menace to the Republic. A condition of society in which one small group of men control the light, another the fuel, a third the sugar, a fourth the more important lines of transportation, and other groups make attempts, generally abortive though sometimes temporarily successful, to control other elements scarcely less necessary to our material well-being, if not absolutely to our civilization, cannot be regarded with other than disfavor if not apprehension by thoughtful citizens. The anti-trust campaign is the protest of a somewhat blind sentiment against so undemocratic a tendency, a tendency which must be counteracted by an intelligent study of its nature and origin, and wisely directed efforts to secure the material benefits which concentration of labor brings without suffering the evils, both material and moral, inherent in monopoly. If Mr. Bryan's election gave any reasonable promise of checking or preventing the perils which are or may be threatened by a "manufacturing aristocracy," The Outlook would regard this as a reason, though not under present conditions a controlling reason, for supporting Mr. Bryan in the present election.

But if the triumph of the Republican party promises little, if indeed it promises anything, toward the restraint of such an aristocracy, we see no better promise in the triumph of the Democratic party. As the campaign proceeds, Mr. Bryan appears to be substituting for a rational discussion of public questions class appeals to the poor against the rich. If the newspapers do not entirely misquote him, the remedy on which he thus seems to depend, the massing of the poor against the rich, would be worse than the disease. We can imagine no political contest which would be more perilous to the country than one between the propertyless and the prosperous, unless it were one of race against race or religion against religion.

The real and radical protection against a "manufacturing aristocracy" is free competition, and such a moral and intellectual education for all the people as will make that competition real and universal. A social organization which leaves the door of opportunity accessible to every man, and a system of public education which gives to every child a fair chance to fit himself for opening it, may not and will not prevent all social and industrial injustice; but if these two concur, they will go far to prevent the permanent control of any industry by an aristocracy. If to these be added such Christian influences and such enlightened public opinion as will tend to make the rich and strong regard themselves as the servants of the poor and weak, the perils of a "manufacturing aristocracy" will be reduced perhaps as far as mere moral forces can reduce them. Other concurrent remedies must be legal and political. We shall not pretend to offer here specifics; there is no short and easy method of dealing with this subject; but we may at least indicate some of the methods which have been either actually tried or tentatively proposed.

These include: abolition of all special taxation, including protective tariffs, and the substitution therefor of a tariff levied for revenue only; taxing corporate values at no less a rate than private property; prohibiting all false valuations or so-called watering, as a fraud upon the public; requiring all corporations and all combinations of corporations to publish their accounts, and to subject them when required to official inquiry and investigation; making penal all combinations to raise prices or limit production; prohibiting one corporation to get the control of another corporation for the purpose of establishing a monopoly; prohibiting a monopoly from participating in inter-State commerce; requiring all corporations dealing in the necessaries of life to deal equally with all customers; prohibiting public gambling, whether in the products of industry or in the stocks of the corporations engaged in producing them; bringing all corporations or combinations of corporations having to do with such necessaries of modern life as coal, light, and transportation, under governmental supervision and regulation. We do not include in this list the proposition that the State itself assume the control and conduct of all the more important industries. This proposition is as yet entertained seriously only by a very few, and it appears to us that it would prevent private monopoly only by creating a public one, and thus would intrench and establish "manufacturing aristocracy," not destroy it.

Thus far neither party supports more

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than the other any practical and effective remedy for "manufacturing aristocracy," and perhaps this is fortunate, since were the suppression of monopoly made a party issue the almost inevitable result would be to enlist envy and jealousy on one side against fear and distrust on the other. Mr. Cleveland endeavored to induce his party to adopt the principle of tariff for revenue only, but without success, and no affirmation of any such principle is included in the present Democratic platform. The regulation of transportation by railroad commissioners, State and National, has been favored by prominent leaders in both parties, and its adoption is not due to one more than to the other. The most distinguished recent illustration of legislation aimed to prevent combinations in restraint of trade is that furnished by Texas under a Democratic administration; the most distinguished recent illustration of fair taxation imposed on public franchises is furnished by the States of Michigan and New York under Republican administration. The Democratic party proposes to abolish the tariff on all goods controlled by a monopoly, and holds that inter-State commerce can be prohibited to such monopolies under the present Constitution; the Republican party proposes so to amend the Constitution as to enable Federal legislation to control those excessive powers of the great corporations which can now be controlled only by the concurrent action of all the States. In short, we are as yet but just awaking to the perils of which De Tocqueville warned us over sixty years ago; neither political economists nor statesmen see clearly what methods to pursue; and in such an experimental stage the motto, More haste less speed, clearly applies. Under such circumstances, to elect a candidate, not because he has a definite plan to propose, but because he hopes that he or his party may find a plan, appears to us to be taking in politics what in business would be called an "extra-hazardous risk."

We have said nothing here respecting Mr. Bryan's specific for plutocracy, if not for "manufacturing aristocracy," that is, the free coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1, for we have heretofore somewhat fully discussed that subject. The Outlook held with M. de Laveleye, of Belgium, and President Francis A. Walker, of this country, the view so well stated by Dr. Albert Shaw in last week's Outlook, that an agreement by the chief commercial nations of the world to make both gold and silver, at an established ratio, legal tender for all debts, public and private, would make a safer and more stable basis for the vast credit system of modern times than could either metal alone. But this is very different from the proposition that America shall agree to give coined dollars for all the silver which the world can pour into our mints, and agree to take such dollars as legal tender for all debts due to us, while the other nations of the earth make no similar agreement on their part. The rich would probably contrive to escape most of the evils of such a policy, but it would inflict cruel hardship on wage-earners, salaried employees, and the agricultural class. It is in the interest of the laboring classes that The Outlook opposes this proposition, which has no real kinship with bimetallism, and which we believe would be fraught with injury to all, but with special injustice to the poor.

For these reasons we do not think that those who share with us De Tocqueville's opinion that a "manufacturing aristocracy" is a real though perhaps not a serious menace, are to seek a remedy for it in Mr. Bryan and what we may call the New Democracy. Even if the silver interests and the sugar interests had not exercised so great an influence on the policies of the Democratic party in the past, even if Mr. Croker, of New York, and Mr. Clark, of Montana, were not influential in its counsels in the present, we should still think it a mistake to look to this party for the means of counteracting or restraining the present evils and the future possible perils arising from a "manufacturing aristocracy."

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The Grace of Goodness

There is a tact of the spirit which, by a deep instinct, divines that which will hurt and that which will heal in human intercourse. This is the fine grace of those saints who stay in the world without a touch of worldliness, who live with as much purity as the strictest ascetic, but who shed the radiance of their devotion along the highway of life instead of

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prisoning it in a nun's cell; who have many interests but never waste or dissipate spiritual energy; and who make men aware of the reality of the highest ideals without so much as hinting that they exist.

Honesty is one of the foundation stones of character, but honor is finer than honesty, because it transforms honesty into a spiritual quality by lifting it above all considerations of policy or advantage. A man may be honest and yet grasping and small; but the man who has a delicate sense of honor adds to integrity the grace of unselfishness. Goodness is always admirable, but there are degrees of goodness, as there are degrees of culture. It is a great deal, amid the manifold temptations of life, to find the immovable foundations and build upon them; but all builders do not have the same feeling for harmony of mass and line, for sound and beautiful construction. Ugly houses are sometimes reared on foundations massive enough to support a palace or a cathedral. The flowers and fragrance of goodness are often lacking to those who possess its roots. They are honest, truthful, faithful to all trusts and duties; but they do not diffuse the sweetness of faith in the very best things; they are not enveloped in the atmosphere which evokes from others all the finer qualities and reinforces all their higher convictions.

The good are not always winning; they do not always commend the influences that shape them by their manifestation of those influences. They command confidence, but they do not make converts. Such men and women do much of the necessary work of the world; they carry its burdens with silent heroism; they are often of the stuff of which saints are made, but they have not attained sainthood. They lack the higher harmony which comes to those who so completely forget themselves that the whole nature silently conforms itself to the will of God.

The gentleness and tenderness of Christ were expressed in a consideration for others, based on a perception of their needs, sorrows, and imperfections, which makes him the first gentleman in the world as well as its most radical reformer. Appointed to do the most destructive work as a means of reorganizing society on a truer foundation, he carried on his warfare with weapons which healed as they smote; hating the sin of the world with all the intensity of a sinless nature, he, above all men whose words and deeds have been recorded, loved more than he condemned and saved in the exact measure in which he destroyed.

This spiritual sensitiveness to the needs of others breeds the divine tact which makes the touch of the uncanonized saints so gentle and healing. They move among the sick, the weary, the sinful, with a quiet helpfulness which is a kind of health in itself. Instead of breaking and bruising, they bind up and heal. A deep compassion flows from them and envelops in an atmosphere of sympathy those whom they would help. They refresh us before we understand how weary we are; they make us aware of our shortcomings in our innermost hearts and ashamed in our very souls without so much as intimating that they see any fault in us.

Many men and women, with the best intentions in the world, go blundering through life, hurting where they would heal and giving pain where they would bring peace, simply from dullness of spiritual perception. The pathetic prayer which Mr. Sill puts in the mouth of the Fool, and which sinks into the heart of the King, ought to be oftener on our lips:

The ill-timed truth we might have kept—
Who knows how sharp it pierced and stung?
The word we had not sense to say—
Who knows how grandly it had rung?

Our faults no tenderness should ask,
The chastening stripes must cleanse them all;
But for our blunders—oh, in shame
Before the eyes of heaven we fall!

The blunders of the good are sometimes more difficult to repair than evil deeds; and they are few against whom these lost or ill-used opportunities cannot be charged.

Most of us are in the rudimentary stages of spiritual growth; we lack the sensitiveness of spirit which makes the saints ministering angels; we are shut out, by our lack of insight, from that finer service which is possible only to those who look into the hearts of their fellows, and through this knowledge turn their love into a healing wisdom.

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THE CAMPAIGN ISSUES

II.[1]

From a Republican Standpoint

By Albert Shaw

Editor of the "American Monthly Review of Reviews"

THE platforms of both parties speak with severity concerning trusts and corporate monopolies. Mr. McKinley's letter of acceptance is emphatic in denouncing such monopolies as are contrary to public welfare, and Mr. Bryan has given a great deal of prominence to the subject of trusts in his campaign speaking. He has been particularly unmerciful in those speeches which have taken for their text Senator Hanna's alleged statement that there are no trusts in the country. It is to be regretted that the Democratic speakers have not thought it worth their while to quote more of what Mr. Hanna said, in order to show what he meant. As I understood him, Mr. Hanna was not denying—what every one knows, indeed—that there has within the past two years been an astounding movement in the formation of large industrial corporations through the amalgamation of the interests of competing firms or companies; and that many of these corporations are monopolistic in their nature and effect surely Mr. Hanna would not for a moment deny. It is true, however, that the earlier legal form of the trust has been abandoned, and that these hundreds of new consolidations are regular business corporations on a large scale.

They are not Republican and they are not Democratic. Some of them have been aided by the fact of a protective tariff; but the great movement itself is quite independent of high tariffs or low tariffs. It represents a stage in the evolution of modern industry and commerce. Few men, if any, just now, are wise enough to be entitled to pronounce this movement either wholly good or wholly bad. But it concerns the public vitally in a thousand ways, and it is mainly dependent upon the privileges of incorporation that the public confers. It would seem to follow, therefore, that the public is at least entitled to all necessary information, and may at its discretion apply such rules and regulations as it may find advisable for the conduct of the corporations which exist by its sufferance. I am not prepared to believe that one great party can at present fairly claim greater fidelity to the interests of the people than the other great party, as respects such a question as the wise regulation of great business corporations.

There are, of course, some men who are so enraged against the great corporations that they are prepared to proceed against them in a destructive spirit. Their attitude is to some extent that of certain classes of artisans early in the present century against labor-saving machinery and the factory system. It seems to me that the students and investigators of the subject are teaching us a great deal more about the nature of the so-called "trust problem" than are the politicians who are trying to make party capital out of a difficult question, which, like that of the monetary standards, is never going to be solved by stump speakers on the eve of an excited contest between rival political parties. That there are serious abuses that need correction is admitted on all hands; but public opinion needs more enlightenment than it possesses at present before it can demand of legislatures and executive officers the application of any very sweeping remedial measures. Mr. Bryan's discussions of the subject during the past two years have not convinced me that his diagnosis is correct, or that his proposed remedies are to be desired.

Although Mr. Bryan is supposed by many people to be socialistic in his views, one does not find him advocating—with the Populists of the West and the labor organizations of the East—such projects as the public ownership of railway, telegraph,

[1] In the preceding issue of The Outlook Messrs. Shaw and Towne discussed the currency issue.

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and telephone monopolies, or the municipalization of gas and electric lighting supplies and local transit systems. These ideas stand for a real movement, much of which is sound and progressive; but Mr. Bryan's proposed social remedies lie along the fallacious lines of cheap money and advocacy of the virtue of the worn-out competitive system as such.

One of the subjects Mr. Bryan is now urging as of first-rate prominence is the income tax. He declares that a specific plank strongly favoring the enactment of a new income tax law was prepared for the Kansas City platform, and that it was omitted by accident or inadvertence; and he regards it as Democratic doctrine for the present year. The reaffirmation of the Chicago platform carries with it, of course, an indorsement of the income tax plank of 1896. In the campaign of 1892 the income tax was not mentioned by Democrats either in their platform or on the stump; yet when they came into power by virtue of their success in that year, they enacted an income tax law. That particular enactment was declared unconstitutional; but it is very possible that some form of income tax might be sustained by the Federal courts.

While much may be said theoretically in favor of an income tax as an equitable way in which to fill the public treasury, the people of the United States do not show any evidence of desiring it. If there had been any great zeal for it at Kansas City, it certainly could not have been dropped out of the platform "by inadvertence." If there had been any popular desire for it in 1892, it would have occurred to somebody to seek to have it mentioned in one of the great party platforms, and it would have been talked about upon the stump. It has not, in fact, been a subject of any considerable discussion since the judicial nullification of the income tax law of 1893. So far as we have observed, no one is prominently advocating it on the stump excepting Mr. Bryan. The increased taxation of great corporations, on the other hand—as, for example, that which has been brought about with the earnest encouragement and aid of Governor Roosevelt under the Ford Franchise Tax Law in the State of New York—is a subject of very wide and animated discussion; and it points in the direction of practical improvement in tax methods that is at present far more feasible than an income tax.

Among the various things that Bryanism means are, then, to be mentioned most conspicuously the free coinage of silver, an indiscriminate warfare against monopolistic corporations as such, and the re-enactment of an income tax. These propositions, I believe, are all of them objectionable to the business community.

Now, if it were not for the aggressive introduction of Bryanism into this campaign, we should have a purely normal political situation. The careful political observer was justified in believing that the people of the country had sufficiently disposed of the silver question and the income tax question for the present, and that they were not intending to permit the so-called trust question to become the mere football of political parties. But for this untimely reassertion of what I may call "Bryanism," for the sake of a condensed form of expression, we should have had a campaign conducted squarely upon what, for like purposes of condensation, I may call "McKinleyism." The Republicans at Philadelphia expressed their unanimous approval of the policies and administrative methods of President McKinley and his official colleagues, and asked the country to keep Mr. McKinley at the helm for another four years.

In the conduct of ordinary administration there seems to be no very serious criticism of Mr. McKinley and his Cabinet. I have observed a number of Presidential campaigns, and never before have I known a time when there was so little attempt by the opposition to fasten scandal upon the party in power. Much the largest item of domestic expenditure is for pensions, and under Mr. McKinley's administration I believe that the work of the Pension Office has been conducted with as high a degree of intelligent efficiency as at any time since the Civil War. The disbursement of $150,000,000 a year to about a million pensioners requires the utmost vigilance and skill to avoid losses through laxity or fraud. Even the zeal of fierce partisanship brings no charge whatever against the present Republican conduct of this immense business; nor do the Democrats take the slightest exception to the country's present liberal pension policy.

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They endeavor, on the contrary, to outbid the Republicans in their advocacy of ample pensions. There are always outstanding several hundred thousand applications for pensions, many of which are pushed in questionable ways by a class of claim agents whose interest in the whole question of pension administration has always been open to grave suspicion. It is creditable to President McKinley that he has firmly sustained the present Commissioner of Pensions as against attacks emanating from these speculative pension attorneys and agents.

One hears little complaint, if any, about the conduct of the Indian Bureau and the general Land Office. The territorial administration of Oklahoma, Arizona, and New Mexico is not under criticism. The comparatively new Cabinet department of Agriculture, under Secretary Wilson, has shown a most commendable enterprise in many directions, and does not appear to be tainted in any manner with party politics or personal scandals. A good deal of improvement in the postal system of the country is possible, but the greater part of it must await the action of the lawmaking body. The most noteworthy fact about the postal scandals in Cuba was the honest, prompt, and efficacious way in which the Administration corrected the abuses as soon as their existence was discovered. The administration of the Treasury Department has been upon a high plane of financial intelligence and administrative efficiency.

A distinction must be made, of course, between the policy of the country respecting finance, the army, the navy, and foreign affairs, and the ordinary work of the four departments in charge of those subjects. No criticism of a very serious nature, I believe, has been brought against the ordinary administration of the Treasury Department under Secretary Gage, or of the Navy Department under Secretary Long. Earlier in Mr. McKinley's administration there was criticism of the War Department under Secretary Alger, whose health was not equal to his responsibilities; but under Secretary Root it must be agreed that the departmental work is well carried on. At the beginning of Mr. McKinley's administration there was criticism of the Department of State on the ground that Secretary Sherman's health made it impossible for him to bring his normal energies to bear upon the duties of his office. Subsequently, Secretary Day's work was highly commended by almost every one, and, in the main, there has been confidence in the work of the department under Secretary John Hay.

Looking, then, at the great administrative mechanism of the United States Government as engaged in its regular and ordinary duties, I find a great deal to merit confidence and approval, and comparatively little to condemn. It may not be of much importance that I, speaking as an independent Republican and a member of the Civil Service Reform League, should express these views; but it is certainly significant in the highest degree that the Democratic party, at the very height of the Presidential campaign, eagerly seeking every opportunity and excuse for attack upon the Administration, has not been able to arouse the apprehensions or suspicions of the country as respects the manner in which the vast public revenues are collected and disbursed and the work of administration carried on.

The Democratic Campaign Book, it is true, devotes a chapter, called "Corruption in the War Department," to Egan and the so-called "embalmed beef." But it is to be remembered that the organization and work of the supply departments of the army at the outset of Mr. McKinley's administration were part of a system for which the preceding Democratic administration might as justly be blamed as its Republican successor. And these attacks in the Democratic Campaign Book are more significant in what they omit than in what they include; for they do not find a word to say against the present conduct of the army supply services, which are still upon a scale of magnitude. The simple truth is that early in 1898 we created a great army on a few weeks' notice, and it required several months to bring up to a state of high efficiency the business of supplying arms, ammunition, food, clothing, hospital and medical facilities, and the like. It is enough to say that the Democrats, in all their eagerness to make an issue out of so-called "militarism," have no army scandals to retail except those assignable to the very early

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months of a war-footing period which has now lasted two years and a half.

In strict fairness, I must allude to two other Democratic attacks against the conduct of public business by the McKinley administration as distinguished from matters of public policy. Both of these relate more directly to the Treasury Department. One is the modification of the Civil Service rules, principally at the instance of Secretary Gage, by virtue of which a number of positions were exempted from the competitive examination system. I certainly did not at the time think this order was either necessary or wise. On the other hand, I was able to see that it made for convenience, and I am perfectly ready to accept Secretary Gage's assurance that neither in its motives nor in its results has the change lowered the standard of efficiency in the public service. The other charge was that of undue intimacy between the Treasury Department and certain New York banks, in the sale of United States bonds and in other large financiering transactions. Neither of these topics is playing an important part in the campaign, and I do not in the least believe that either of them involves anything more than a question of practical judgment.

Next, as to policies. Taking up first the question of finances—the Republicans have managed the public debt exceedingly well. They have refunded a good deal of it at a very low rate of interest. They have given us the Dingley tariff and the war tax law, under which, by virtue of the great growth of our foreign trade and the prosperous times at home, there has been abundant revenue. If Mr. McKinley should be re-elected, we would know at least what to expect as regards taxation.

Most thoughtful men are, I believe, of opinion that the tariff question ought not at present to be reopened in such a way as to add to the uncertainties of commerce. Certain schedules in the Dingley tariff should undoubtedly be modified, and certain imposts included in the war tax measure might well be abolished. But apart from these gradual modifications of the existing system, prudent business men would prefer to have the present modes of National taxation retained for several years to come. While it is true that the Democrats are almost absolutely ignoring the tariff question in their campaign oratory, it is highly probable that we should have a general tariff agitation in the case of their coming into power. My own opinion is that the distinctively protective system has almost run its course in the United States, and that it will be desirable, perhaps, four or six years hence, to subject the existing tariff to sweeping revision. But tariff-tinkering, of the sort perpetrated by the Democrats when they attempted to revise the McKinley tariff of 1890, far from hastening the day of a logical and sweeping reconstruction of our system of levies upon imports, only delays the real work of tariff reform.

The Democratic party ought not to be intrusted with the control of the finances of the country until it can bring forward some definite and responsible policy. The Republicans are united upon the various questions of money and taxation. The Democratic party, on the other hand, is hopelessly at variance within itself.

As to naval policy, the question has fortunately, for a number of years past, been quite successfully kept out of party politics. The two Democratic Secretaries of the Navy, Mr. Whitney and Mr. Herbert, have been as much in favor of naval expansion as the Republican Secretaries, and party lines have not been drawn on naval questions in Congress. We have never before had so much work on hand as now in the building of new ships, repairing old ones, development of shipyards, and equipment of naval stations. It is difficult to believe that these matters would have better attention if Mr. Bryan were elected than they are now having under Mr. McKinley and Secretary Long.

The Democrats have fallen into the habit of charging the Republican administration with militarism in a general sort of way, but it does not seem to me that the subject constitutes a real issue apart from that one phase of it which has to do with military work in the Philippine Islands, and to this I shall allude in a later paragraph.

Somewhat more than two years ago, when the war with Spain began, there were, near at hand, in the island of Cuba, about 200,000 Spanish troops, the great majority of them regulars. We had a nominal army of 25,000 men, scattered in

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small squads and detachments all over our continental area. It was necessary to create armies in a short space of time; and this work was tolerably well done, when all the circumstances are considered. We have been bringing troops back from Porto Rico and Cuba as rapidly as could have been expected; and surely Mr. Bryan could not have managed that part of the work of our army better than Mr. McKinley has done. Whether or not it was necessary at the outset to send large bodies of men to the Philippine Islands has now become a purely academic question. Most people at the time believed that the thing had to be done. I am not aware that Mr. Bryan held to a different opinion. If one concedes that it was necessary to send the men there, the question remains whether or not it has been feasible up to the present time to bring them back home.

There is no disposition on the part of any influential element, whether Republican or Democratic, to maintain permanently a large standing army in this country. Our responsibilities will in the very early future extend over a population of approximately a hundred million people, dispersed over wide areas. An army of a hundred thousand men would mean one soldier for every thousand of the population. I should hope we might be able to get along with a smaller army than that; but we shall at least need more of an army than we were maintaining at the outbreak of the Spanish war.

To discuss the so-called imperialistic or colonial policy that the Democrats are endeavoring to keep at the front as the paramount issue in this campaign, it is necessary to go back to the peace treaty which concluded the war with Spain. So far as the Peninsular Government was concerned, what we did was to take over some of her island possessions. Such technical title as was hers in Porto Rico, Cuba, and the Philippines she made over to us; and it mattered very little to her what sort of arrangements we should subsequently choose to make with the Porto Ricans, the Cubans, and the people who live in the Philippine Islands. This arrangement was best for Spain, because otherwise we should probably have exacted from her a large monetary indemnity. Spain was no longer in position to regain control of the Philippines, and if we had not secured the relinquishment of her title in our favor, she would have sold it to Germany.

It was a very excellent treaty for everybody concerned, honorable in every way, and generous toward the Spanish Government. Unfortunately, the interval between the signing of the protocol which stopped hostilities and the signing of the permanent peace treaty at Paris was longer than wisdom or prudence should have permitted. The Cubans had for three years carried on a heroic war to obtain their emancipation from Spain; but the Filipino insurrection which had sprung up in 1896, when the Cuban struggle was absorbing Spanish energies, had been completely suppressed as a mere incidental matter. The circumstances demonstrated completely that there was in the Filipino people no ripened capacity for efficient political or military action. Otherwise, the Filipinos, who are far more numerous than the Cubans, ought easily to have gained their independence in the years of 1896 and 1897.

It happened that the *status quo* at the signing of the peace protocol locked up the bulk of the Spanish troops at Manila, and also compelled the troops of the United States to remain in that immediate vicinity. It was this situation, and nothing else, which enabled Aguinaldo and his followers to overcome the small and detached Spanish garrisons that were at a distance from Manila, and to set up pretensions which they had never previously entertained. As I have said, the period between the signing of the protocol and that of the permanent peace treaty was unfortunately long; but it was a terrible fatality that this period should have been further extended by the failure of the United States Senate to do promptly what it was bound to do in the end. It should have ratified the treaty first and debated it afterward.

There was nothing in the treaty of peace incompatible with our doing anything we liked by way of subsequent arrangement with the Filipinos themselves. The treaty simply eliminated Spain and put us in a position to deal directly with the Filipinos without the intrusion of a third party. I will not say that the Senatorial gentlemen who "held up" the

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treaty had not the best intentions in the world; but I have no hesitation in saying that their conduct amounted to something like criminal stupidity. It was the Senate debate, and nothing else, that precipitated the war which began more than a year and a half ago and is not ended yet. Mr. Bryan himself, let it be said to his credit, went to Washington and urged Democratic Senators to cease their fatuous obstruction and allow the peace treaty to go into effect.

The war has been prolonged because the Filipino people have been full of false apprehensions on the one hand and of false hopes on the other. And the Filipinos have derived their mistaken ideas principally from this country. It is not in the least true that Mr. McKinley or any one connected with his administration has ever had the slightest desire to subject the Filipino people to arbitrary rule under an imperialistic régime. This certainly would have been their fate if we had allowed Spain to sell the islands to Germany. It was not nearly so much due to the hope of commercial advantage to ourselves that the Philippine Islands were taken over from Spain, as to the idealism of the American people, who felt that, since we had been the sole cause of the destruction of Spanish power in those islands, we ought to make ourselves responsible for the substitution there of the highest possible forms of enlightened and just administration.

I do not believe that there is an experienced and thoroughly informed statesman in the world who supposes for a moment that the Philippine Islands are at present capable of being erected into an independent and sovereign member of the family of nations. If they are ever to have such a status, it must be after a considerable period during which the lessons of local self-government must be fairly learned, and the industrial development and modernization of the country must take place. And this must be under the auspices of some powerful and enlightened nation. The rapid sequence of historical events has seemed to assign that task to the United States. Even Mr. Bryan virtually admits all this, although there is the most hopeless inconsistency between his theoretical discussion of the subject and those meager practical propositions in which he has indicated what his actual programme would be if he were elected.

In his theoretical arguments, to which he confines himself almost entirely, Mr. Bryan elaborates maxims as to the inherent political rights of men to choose their own form of government. But these maxims are of small value as a guide to conduct in a particular case, apart from circumstances and conditions. All of Mr. Bryan's abstract reasonings about the Philippine situation point to only one logical conclusion, namely, our duty of immediate, complete, and unqualified withdrawal from the Philippine Islands. Yet when Mr. Bryan discloses his programme, it turns out to be something wholly different He declares that *we* Americans must establish a stable government in the Philippines; and that *we* must continue permanently to maintain a protectorate over them, while retaining, as our own full possession, a suitable coaling-station—by which he means, as some of his very eminent supporters have frankly explained, the great city and port of Manila.

But surely the Filipinos, if free from all moral and physical restraint, would not choose to give up their metropolis and principal seaport to the one foreign nation which had been committing such crimes against their rights and liberties as Mr. Bryan and his friends declare. In the second place, it is inconceivable that the Filipinos should, if they are to become an independent power, desire to have us remain indefinitely in the exercise of the task of providing them with a stable government. In the third place, it is almost equally inconceivable that we should assume before the world the responsibilities of protector of a new Philippine republic or kingdom, or whatever form of government Aguinaldo might choose to erect, without any authority on our part to regulate either the policy or the behavior of that government.

A far simpler and better plan, and one less likely to lead to future complications and strife, is the plan which has already been adopted of bringing the islands under the general sovereignty of the United States—just as Canada is under the general sovereignty of Great Britain—while building up in them the institutions of good government on modern principles,

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with full local home rule at just as early a date as the people can and will exercise it.

There remain in dispute, however, some purely technical and legal questions as to the relation of the Philippines to the United States under the Constitution. This venerable document was adopted—a few years after the formation of our Federal Union—for the purpose of providing the sister commonwealths of the United States with an improved form of association. The various States which make up Germany are bound together by a federal constitution. This does not prevent the Germany thus united from exercising sovereignty over certain portions of Africa and certain islands of the sea; and those portions of Africa are not thereby made a part of Germany, nor do they come under the compact which binds together the partners in the German federation.

It would seem to be clear, both in the principles that underlie the science of government and also in the text of our Constitution and in the course of our legal and constitutional history, that the United States may suitably and lawfully exercise sovereignty over outside territory, just as any other government in the world may do the same thing. Whether or not our acquisition of the Philippine Islands legally carries the Dingley tariff there is in any case not a question that can be settled on the stump, because it lies wholly and finally within the jurisdiction of the United States courts.

It must not be forgotten that the ratification of the peace treaty with Spain made the Philippine Islands American territory, in a sense which President McKinley could not ignore without being liable to impeachment. Any relaxation of purpose and endeavor on his part to compel submission to American authority would, in the eyes of the law, be an offense of the same nature as would have been President Lincoln's in 1861 if he had calmly acquiesced in the secession of the Southern States. As commander-in-chief of the army and navy, it is the duty of President McKinley to defend the authority of the United States.

The attempt of some of Mr. Bryan's supporters to find an analogy between the Philippines and Cuba falls entirely short. The two situations are unlike in almost every respect. It was not, in my judgment, wise or statesmanlike for Congress to pledge in advance that we would not annex Cuba. That question should have been left open for subsequent decision upon its merits. We are not doing the Cubans any real kindness by making haste to cast them adrift. Annexation to the United States is the most desirable consummation that they could possibly seek. The anti-imperialists, probably without intention, are constantly juggling with the different meanings of the word government. It is ridiculous to say that the Republic of San Domingo is self-governing and that the State of Massachusetts is not. It is desirable that every community, great or small, should exercise self-government in those matters touching which it has a reasonable degree of capacity to manage its governmental affairs with success. There is far more danger that we shall give self government to the Philippines too rapidly than too slowly.

As to the Congressional resolution regarding the future of Cuba, it was at least not a partisan matter; and President McKinley was not responsible for it. If the Cubans had made war against us while we were trying in good faith to guard their interests and at the same time to protect such rights and interests as the Spaniards and others possessed in Havana, we should have been obliged to subdue them by force. And in that case it would hardly have been possible to do otherwise than annex the island. But the Cubans, who are a brave people, and who held the Spaniards at deadlock for three years, have conducted themselves very decently toward the Government and people of the United States.

Such a question as that of the Porto Rico tariff, about which the Democratic Campaign Book makes much ado, has little proper place in party controversy. The Porto Rico tariff bill had two aspects: (1) that of legal principle; and (2) that of practical financial policy. About the legal principle there is a wide difference of opinion. So high a Republican authority as ex-President Harrison believes that, in the intent of the Constitution, all territory subject to the sovereignty of the United States ought to be included within our zone of domestic free trade. This is a point of constitutional interpretation

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which belongs to the Supreme Court of the United States, and cannot be settled on the stump.

As a matter of policy and general expediency, I believe heartily and strongly in full freedom of trade between the United States and all its outlying possessions. And this is exactly what the Porto Rico bill gives to that island—only that it defers free trade for a few months, and enforces a very low temporary tariff rate as a revenue measure for the sole benefit of the Porto Ricans themselves. My friend Dr. Hollender, of the Johns Hopkins University, now Treasurer of Porto Rico, says that this temporary low tariff was highly desirable for Porto Rico, because it afforded a ready means of necessary income while a system of internal taxation was being established to provide for the expenses of ordinary administration, schools, roads, and other public improvements, after the disappearance of the tariff.

In short, I think that in the Porto Rican tariff bill the Republicans did the best thing possible for the islands, in a way which has not, apparently, brought them the credit to which they are entitled. Porto Rico is to have absolute free trade with the United States at the very first moment when it would be of any general benefit to the island to have it.

Finally, as for the Filipinos, I believe that the sense of nationality, with the aspiration for an independent place in the family of nations, must be something more than a momentary whim or the growth of a day if it is to be taken seriously. There has never been, in the historic sense, a distinctive attitude of nationality in the archipelago which we call the Philippine Islands. If there had been, the whole world of international affairs and of the higher politics would long ago have taken it into account. The present Filipino movement was a mushroom growth in that period of interregnum between the signing of the peace protocol and the ratification of the peace treaty, when Spain's active authority had ceased and that of the United States had not begun. Dr. Rizal's movement of 1896, in which Aguinaldo was a military leader, was soon suppressed by a force of Spaniards of the most insignificant strength as compared with the Spanish army in Cuba.

The Aguinaldo movement has been subsequently kept alive largely, if not principally, through the inability of the Filipinos to understand the real inwardness of American politics. Outside of what we call the "solid South," Mr. Bryan is not wholly sure even of two dozen electoral votes. His only absolute reliance is upon the votes of the Southern States. And yet it is true that there is no part of the United States in which the real sentiment of the influential elements of the community is so strongly for expansion and for holding the Philippines as in these very Southern States. The only other group of States now regarded as reasonably sure for Mr. Bryan are in the silver-producing and mountainous regions of the West; and those, next to the Southern States, are the most ardent for territorial expansion and the least troubled about the metaphysics of imperialism. I venture, then, to say that if the States which will give their electoral votes for Mr. Bryan next month should be allowed to decide in any representative manner as to our Philippine policy, it would be made very clear that they have even less compunction about asserting and maintaining our sovereignty than the very States which are going to declare their confidence in Mr. McKinley and their preference that he should continue for four years more to preside over our National affairs.

The South is supporting Mr. Bryan, not because it believes this year in Mr. Bryan's free silver, and not because it believes in the applicability of Mr. Bryan's metaphysics about imperialism, but solely because it has not yet broken away from the tradition of supporting the Democratic party—a tradition due to the old-time sectional questions and to the race problem. The new industrial South prefers sound money and wants commercial expansion; but it does not see how to give up its nominal loyalty to the Democratic party.

Under all these circumstances, is it not fair to say that Mr. Bryan is not sufficiently representative of definite and positive elements of American public opinion to entitle him to be President? His monetary policy, entertained by him with unquestionable depth of conviction, is contrary to the interests and to the feelings of almost the entire country. I believe that the same thing is true of his Philippine policy,

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in so far as he has disclosed it in any practical form. The only real strength that might bring about his election lies in that undercurrent of class feeling and prejudice that brings him his greatest applause when he inflames labor against capital, and denounces "trusts" without discrimination. I do not believe the time is ripe for electing a President of the United States upon that kind of sentiment.

From a Democratic Standpoint

By Charles A. Towne

Ex-Congressman from the Sixth Minnesota District

THE perennial struggle in the politics of the world is the struggle between the few and the many. Under preceding forms of government the few held power from the beginning, and the many constantly strove for a share in it. The institutions of the United States, however, were founded upon the admitted principles that the welfare of the many is the object of the laws, and that the will of the many is the source of all just authority; and the great contests of our history have been waged, not to establish popular rights, but to maintain them. The defeat of the few has been sought only to return the Government to its ancient practices. All the phenomena of our politics may be grouped about this central principle. Thus, we witness the establishment of the Nation by the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution; the gradual drift of the Government, under the influence of Hamiltonianism, into the hands of the few; its rescue by Jefferson a hundred years ago, and a return to first principles under the Democratic party; the slow but sure submission of the old Democracy to the power of the few, in this case an oligarchy erected upon the institution of slavery; the second rescue, forty years ago, under Abraham Lincoln, whose party, in its first National platform, at Philadelphia, in June, 1856, declared itself in favor "of restoring the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson;" the recreancy of the Republican party to this early impulse, and the progressive commitment of its leadership to the interests of the few as against the general welfare.

This brings us to the necessity of a new political salvation. Once again must we return to first principles. The phenomenon witnessed under the leadership of Jefferson a hundred years ago, and under that of Lincoln forty years ago, is once more to repeat itself under the leadership of Bryan: at the dawn of the twentieth century the people are coming to their own again.

In our domestic policy the "principles of Jefferson," to which the first Republican National Convention desired to restore the action of the Federal Government, were embodied in the apt and characteristic Jeffersonian adage: "Equal rights for all, special privileges to none." This adage the modern leaders of the party of Lincoln have gravely dishonored. That party has absolutely reversed its policy on each and every great question now occupying a prominent place in political discussion, and in so doing it has removed itself further and further from the people, and has come more and more under the influence of special interests. A brief recital will make this clear: The party was formerly for bimetallism and greenbacks; now, at the dictation of the great speculative banks, it is for the single gold standard and bank money. It was formerly for an income tax, paying part of the expenses of the Civil War with the proceeds of such a tax; now, in the interest of the selfish wealth of the country that objects to bearing the burdens of government reciprocally to its benefits, it is opposed to an income tax. It was formerly, as enunciated by the platform of 1860, for protection as incidental to revenue; now, in obedience to the great trusts and monopolies, it is for protection for protection's sake. In 1888 and 1892 it denounced the trust in its National platform; in 1896 it was silent on the subject; and since then, with the Government Republican in every branch and department, these combinations, which notoriously furnished the bulk of the

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party's vast campaign fund four years ago and are doing the same thing to-day, have increased so rapidly that the number formed in the United States since March 4, 1897, is greater than all that had been previously organized in all countries since the beginning of the Christian era. At its birth the Republican party believed in the partnership of the Constitution and the Flag, for in its platform of 1856 it complained that the people of the Territory of Kansas were being violently and fraudulently deprived of their "dearest constitutional rights;" to-day it is building a huge and incongruous system of colonialism and empire upon the proposition that the flag may be permanently planted where the Constitution of its own force can never follow.

These manifold treasons of recent Republican leadership to ancient Republican principles will cost that party many hundreds of thousands of votes at the coming election. Many who could not sympathize with the demand for the free coinage of silver in 1896 now realize that the campaign of that year was very much more than a contest over the opening of the mints; that it was, in fact, the initial skirmish in a new great battle between the few and the many for the possession of the Government. The specific issue that dominated that campaign is subordinated this year, but its spirit remains. The Republican party leadership that surrendered to the banks has consistently surrendered to the trusts; and the influences thus enthroned in the country, following the analogies of all history, are now seeking to intrench themselves behind standing armies and to demoralize the people with wars of conquest and with colonial administration, preparing the way for fundamental and imperialistic changes in the very structure and theory of our institutions.

Unquestionably the trust question, as it is called, will cost the Republican party many votes this year. Not alone will these be found among the commercial travelers and other employees whose services the combinations have dispensed with, but among the small business men whose existence is menaced, and also in the masses of society to whom the trust means constantly narrowing opportunities and to whom the spirit of monopoly is essentially hateful. This is not the place exhaustively to consider the confessed difficulties of the practical treatment of this evil. It is only important here to observe that to the vast majority of our people the trust monopoly *is* an evil, and that these are not likely to commit the duty of devising and applying a remedy to a party that has had absolute control of the Government for three years without doing anything in that direction; to a party whose sinews of war are avowedly furnished by the trusts, but whose great dictator has recently strenuously denied that any such thing as a trust exists.

However, the controlling issue of the campaign is not that of money, nor yet that of trusts. These discussions relate to policies for the Republic. But the overwhelming question of the hour is, Shall the Republic itself endure? We are not immune from the perils to which all former experiments in democracy have succumbed. We have thus far succeeded because we have remained true, in the main, to the fundamental principles of our Government; and when we have wandered from them, we have returned to them in time. Reason and all history approve the observation of Richard Henry Lee, "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." The principles of the Declaration of Independence consecrated our institutions at the beginning, and we have influenced mankind just in proportion as we have illustrated and confirmed them. It is significant that when the Republican party first met in National Convention at Philadelphia, in June, 1856, the first resolution of its platform reaffirmed that Declaration, and pronounced its doctrines necessary to the preservation of republican institutions; and that its latest National Convention, though meeting in the same historic city, and as nearly as might be on the forty-fourth anniversary of that first Convention, adopted a long platform that contains no mention of the Declaration of Independence. President McKinley says that it was not necessary for the Republican party to reaffirm the Declaration. Whether necessary or not, it certainly was impossible to reaffirm it in this latest Republican platform, because such a reaffirmation would have conflicted with a certain other statement therein

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made which involves a repeal of the Declaration of Independence so far as the Republican party is concerned. The following announcement of policy affecting the islands acquired from Spain, viz., "The largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties shall be secured to them by law," in effect proclaims that the Republican party may give liberty to some men, whereas the Declaration of Independence says that God gives liberty to all men.

The disposition of Republican leaders and newspapers to decry the Declaration of Independence is itself clearly indicative of a complete change of tendencies and sympathies on the part of the controlling powers in that organization. Time was when Republicans vied with one another in amplifying everywhere the guarantees of freedom, and indulged every presumption in its furtherance. To-day the arts of the pettifogger and the wiles of the sophist are in constant requisition to show how circumscribed and accidental a thing liberty is, after all.

Nine-tenths of the criticism now heard against the Declaration of Independence springs from either an ignorant or a willful misconstruction of its purpose. It in no wise lessens the authority of that great instrument to show that historically governments did not begin with civil equality, and that Jefferson entertained sympathies with the closet philosophers who flourished in France in the latter half of the eighteenth century. The Declaration is not so much history as prophecy, not so much a record of what has been as a statement of what ought to be. Its purpose and office have never been better set forth than in the following language of Abraham Lincoln:

> I think the authors of that notable instrument intended to include all men, but they did not mean to declare all men equal in all respects. They did not mean to say that all men are equal in color, size, intellect, moral development, or social capacity. They defined with tolerable distinctness in what they did consider all men created equal—equal in certain unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. This they said and this they meant. They did not mean to assert the obvious untruth that all were then actually enjoying that equality, nor yet that they were about to confer it immediately upon them. In fact, they had no power to confer such a boon. *They meant simply to declare the right so that the enforcement of it might follow as fast as circumstances should permit. They meant to set up a standard maxim for free society which should be familiar to all; constantly looked to, constantly labored for, and, even though never perfectly attained, constantly approximated, and thereby constantly spreading and deepening its influence and augmenting the happiness and value of life to all people of all colors, everywhere.*

The leaders of present-day Republicanism are not engaged in an attempt to "approximate" more and more closely the glorious doctrine of this great instrument; they not only repudiate its philosophy, but they ridicule its sentiment, and would destroy its inspiration.

Defenders of the Administration object to the term "imperialism." Of course we should not quibble over words; it is the thing that is important. Yet we must have some word by which to designate the thing. "Expansion" will not do; first, because it means the exactly opposite kind of growth from that proposed by the Republican policy, and, secondly, because it suggests, and is plainly intended to suggest, a wholly false analogy to our former acquisitions of territory. Expansion is the increase of an organism by inherent and natural forces, the organism retaining its character and functions all the time. Thus we have heretofore "expanded." We have absorbed adjacent territory, extending to it in the very process of assimilation the rights and powers of the parent body, subjecting it to the same laws and guaranteeing it the same liberties. Not one foot of territory acquired previously to the present Administration has lacked the solemn assurance of ultimate Statehood in the Union and of American citizenship for its inhabitants; and out of such material has come the greater portion of our now homogeneous nationality. The new policy, on the other hand, is a colonial policy. It establishes a status hitherto unknown under our system. Instead of equal States and Territories, we are to have dependencies and vassals. Besides citizens we are to have subjects under the flag. Instead of a universal system of fundamental law whereby the civil and personal rights of all are designated and assured, we are to introduce vast numbers of men under our rule but lacking all protection that may be claimed as a right, to be governed by different systems of laws

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and on different theories from those to which we are subject.

No more apt term can be suggested whereby to designate this policy than "imperialism." The best definition of this word that I have seen is contained in the resolutions adopted by the Liberty Conference which assembled at Indianapolis in August, as follows: "The struggle of men for freedom has ever been a struggle for constitutional liberty. There is no liberty if the citizen has no rights which the legislature may not invade, if he may be taxed by a legislature in which he is not represented, or if he is not protected by a fundamental law against the arbitrary action of executive power. The policy of the President offers the inhabitant of Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines no hope of independence, no prospect of American citizenship, no constitutional protection, no representation in the Congress which taxes him. This is a government of men by arbitrary power without their consent; this is imperialism." This sort of government we have already inaugurated in Porto Rico. The fifteen per cent. of the Dingley law tariff rates which we levy upon imports into that island, and upon our imports from thence, corresponds to the tax of threepence a pound on tea (except that it is much more burdensome) which our ancestors refused to pay because they were not represented in the British Parliament which imposed the tax: the single point, as Webster says, on which they made the whole Revolution turn. It is proposed to govern the Philippines in the same way. This policy not only is at variance with the customs and traditions of our entire history, but it subverts the very principles on which our forefathers went to war for their independence, and on which they based the structure of our government.

Many of the Republican leaders clearly see and openly confess to what lengths the new doctrine must lead us. For example, in his famous speech at St. Paul, Governor Roosevelt pronounces it base to think of abandoning our "manly part in the world's work;" and in the same speech explains what he means by "world's work" by pointing with laudation to the achievements of France in Algiers, of Germany in her recent colonial programme, of England in the Soudan (and doubtless he had in mind also the Orange Free State and the Transvaal), and of Russia in Turkestan. Confessedly, then, his "world's work" means nothing else than the common and brutal prosecution of bloody and costly wars of conquest, mere international highway robbery. This is truly a noble task for the descendants of the men who founded liberty and self-government at Yorktown, and for the sons of those who preserved it at Appomattox.

The young Senator from Indiana, the *enfant terrible* of the Administration, whose unsophisticated directness of speech causes the Republican powers-that-be to tremble whenever he opens his mouth, is equally frank. In his famous oration in the Senate he confused almost ludicrously the argument of power and greed, which was his own, with the argument of Providence and destiny, on which the President has an inventor's claim, and found himself blending, almost in the same sentence, unctuous generalities about divine guidance with commercial details of precious woods and golden nuggets. Recently, at Chicago, he elaborately developed a complete programme of imperialism, pure and simple, declaring that even if it be true that we cannot colonize the tropical islands, nevertheless "we can govern them"!

Nor can the peculiar difficulties of extensive colonial administration and continued conquest of helpless peoples be undertaken by us without fundamental changes in the procedure, and ultimately in the very form, of our government. In the "Anglo-Saxon Review," Lady Randolph Churchill's magazine, for June, 1899, Mr. Reid, one of the negotiators of the Treaty of Paris, and a Republican leader of authority, after declaring that this Nation will hold and govern the islands acquired from Spain, says that a republic like the United States is not well qualified for that sort of thing; and then proceeds to suggest that it be made fit by certain radical changes permitting a more summary and military-like method of treating such problems as the situation must present. His own plan is to establish a new executive department to be called the Department for War and Government beyond the Seas. Surely this smacks enough of imperialism to satisfy the palate of the most abject Anglophile. But it is

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only an explicit admission of what is necessarily implied in the adoption of a colonial system. Mr. Roosevelt is right when, in one of his late speeches, he declares that the American people "stand at the parting of the ways." The way proposed involves a complete and final departure from the way of the Republic.

A few newspapers which advocate the departure are frank enough to face the real issue. The "Oregonian," published at Portland, now and for many years a most stanch defender of everything wearing the Republican label, in its issue of August 6, 1900, said: "There is nothing wrong about 'Imperialism.' On the contrary, there is everything in it that is right. It is the rule of those who are fittest to rule, and therefore who ought to rule." On the 4th of August the "Army and Navy Journal," unquestionably reflecting the views of those who are close to the governing power in naval and military circles, declared, after citing facts and figures exhibiting the cheapness and celerity of English colonial administration: "The English executive is an imperial executive. The British Parliament is an English legislature. To the same system we are coming by the decree of circumstances, as inevitable as that of fate. If this be imperialism, make the most of it. So far as citizenship is concerned, the British Empire is one, but beyond the limits of the United Kingdom the citizens live under a rule essentially monarchical and not restricted by the constitutional limitations of the parliamentary system."

But the view indicated by the concluding sentence of the passage just quoted omits the vital distinction between the English constitution and our own. Parliament is practically omnipotent. The expression "English Constitution" is convenient, but it is very indefinite. That constitution exists in scattered historic documents, judicial decisions, philosophic and legal treatises, and antiquated statutes whose age and long-acknowledged authority cause them to approach very nearly to the dignity and character of written constitutional provisions. Yet, while the general principles thus evolved are fairly well established and understood, in theory and in fact the will of Parliament is supreme. Its discretion is supposed to be, and usually is, guided by the principles of the "constitution," but the only other responsibility it feels is its political responsibility to the electors. Whatever Parliament chooses to do it may do; and if its act be so fundamental as to work a change in what was previously regarded as "constitutional," the organic law has simply, in effect, been to that extent amended.

The Constitution of the United States, however, is a written constitution. That Constitution represents the will of the people, and must be obeyed by the depositaries of the authority by it conferred upon them. In the Constitution the people have created a Congress, a President, and a Supreme Court, and in that instrument they have carefully set down the nature, extent, and boundaries of the powers delegated to these agencies. Whatever power cannot be found there by specific mention, or by necessary implication as being essential, and therefore presupposed, to give effect to the specifically granted powers, has no existence so far as Congress, President, or Supreme Court is concerned; it remains *in gremio populi*, in the keeping of the people themselves, who under our system retain the ultimate sovereignty of this Nation.

While, therefore, Parliament may authorize its ministry to govern distant possessions arbitrarily, Congress cannot authorize our Executive to do so, nor can the Executive do so of its own motion. No such power is conferred by the Constitution. The claim that the President and Congress may govern colonies outside of constitutional restraints is ridiculous. They are created by the Constitution! How can they get outside of it? The only capacity they have to act at all is derived from the Constitution: how then can they get from it a power to act in defiance of it?

The founders of this Government revolted from a colonial status in order to found it. If they had intended that the government they set up should itself have and govern colonies, is it conceivable that they should have put never a word into that instrument on the subject? On the contrary, is it not certain that in such event they would have devoted a special article or subdivision to the question of colonial administration, carefully providing against abuses like those which caused their own revolution against Great Britain?

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When Aguinaldo said to General Anderson, "I have carefully read your Constitution, and I find in it no provision for colonies, and I am content," he was announcing an absolutely irrefragable rule of constitutional interpretation.

The respect which even the initial tendencies of imperialism incline the President to observe toward those salutary restraints which the people have imposed upon his office in the Constitution is well shown by a long series of acts absolutely in defiance of the Constitution. I will mention only two: his proclamation of January 4, 1899, and his agreement with the Sultan of Sulu.

The protocol, or preliminary peace treaty, with Spain was signed in Washington August 12, 1898. Its third article was as follows: "The United States will occupy and hold the city, bay, and harbor of Manila, pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace which shall determine the control, disposition, and government of the Philippines." The formal treaty, which ceded the islands to us, was negotiated in December, 1898, approved by the Senate February 6, 1899, and "concluded" by formal exchange of ratifications in March. Now, the earliest moment at which it could by any possibility be claimed that the President had any authority under the treaty was February 6, after the action of the Senate. Yet December 21, 1898, he sent to General Otis a proclamation, which the latter issued January 4, 1899, wherein he informed the Filipinos that the United States had acquired the *whole archipelago* "by conquest," and that they must submit to this authority or be dealt with by necessary "firmness"—that is to say, be shot to death. In the face of this notorious proclamation, all talk of "who began hostilities" is idle. This proclamation is a declaration of war if there ever was one, and its issuance was as clear a case of usurpation as could possibly be presented to our Constitutional court of impeachment.

The Sulu agreement is just as clearly a violation of the Constitution. The Thirteenth Amendment very distinctly says that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, *shall exist* in the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction." This prohibition the President took a solemn oath to observe. Yet he has approved the agreement made in August, 1899, by Brigadier-General J. C. Bates with the so-called Sultan of Sulu and his datos (princes), whereby the protection of our sovereignty and flag is explicitly and solemnly guaranteed to the institutions of polygamy and slavery. The Sultan is the piratical chief of the Moros, a degenerate Mohammedan people of some hundred and fifty thousand souls, inhabiting certain islands in the southern part of the Philippines. The first article of this agreement establishes the "sovereignty of the United States over the whole archipelago of Jolo [Sulu] and its dependencies." The second provides that the United States flag shall be used there. The third clearly points out the infamies to whose protection "Old Glory" is degraded, as follows: "The rights and dignities of his Highness the Sultan and his datos shall be fully respected; the Moros shall not be interfered with on account of their religion; all their religious customs shall be respected, and no one shall be persecuted on account of his religion." This thrice-repeated guaranty of the Sulu religion is explained by Dr. Schurman, President of the first Philippine Commission, as follows: "They are all Mohammedans. To attempt to interfere with the religion of these people would precipitate one of the bloodiest wars in which this country has ever been involved. They are religious fanatics of the most pronounced type, who care nothing for death, and believe that the road to heaven can be attained by killing Christians. *Polygamy is a part of their religion.*"

Republicans who revere the memory of Lincoln, and recall his never-to-be-forgotten Proclamation of Emancipation, may get a fair line of comparison between the old and the new Republicanism by paralleling with that famous paper President McKinley's proclamation of emancipation, which stands as Article X. of this Sulu agreement, and reads as follows: "Any slave in the archipelago of Jolo [Sulu] shall have the right to purchase freedom by paying to his master the usual market value." But the President's ready apologist, Dr. Schurman, tries to palliate the enormity of this glaring outrage against

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both humanity and the Constitution. "Slavery [in Sulu]," he declares, "about which so much is being said just now, is a mild type of feudal bondage." As if the quality of such an institution depended upon the words used in describing it! Slavery, which among the humane people of the United States was yet so dreadful a thing that it was banished at the horrible cost of the Civil War, and forever made impossible by amending the Constitution, becomes, we are told, among a fierce, bloodthirsty race of man-hunters, merely "a mild form of feudal bondage." Just how mild this system is we are informed by the great authority, John Foreman, in his work "The Philippine Islands:" "Slavery exists in a most ample sense. There are slaves by birth, and others by conquest, such as prisoners of war, insolvent debtors, and those seized by piratical expeditions to other islands." Featherman (in "Social History of the Races of Mankind"), speaking of the slaves in Sulu, declares that they "are not well treated, for their masters exercise the power of life and death over them, sometimes killing them for trifling offenses."

It is sometimes attempted to mitigate the crime of having made this agreement by saying that the President has not approved the slavery feature of it. Even if this were true, enough offense would remain to justify the resentment of every self-respecting American citizen. But it is not true. The President did approve this treaty, or agreement, and in his letter finally transmitting it to Congress he says so. To be sure, he adds that he had instructed that it be "communicated to the Sultan" that his approval must not be deemed to authorize or give consent to slavery. But this is ineffectual and disingenuous. The very first paragraph of the agreement provides that it shall be "subject to future modification by the *mutual consent* of the parties in interest." Just how the President could approve this instrument and then change it by a sort of postscript which he "directed" should be "communicated" by somebody to the Sultan, is not very apparent.

I do not scruple to say that this Sulu agreement is the most discreditable state paper in our history. It is inconceivable that a President guilty of approving it should have the slightest hope of re-election at the hands of American citizens who love the institutions of their country and who glory in its past.

In addition to the conflict of the new policy with the Constitution, its violence to all our traditions, and its plain commitment to imperialistic changes in the Government: the circumstances out of which it arose will of themselves incline great numbers of voters to oppose the Administration. We began war to free Cuba. The ordinary mind cannot understand why it is being continued to subjugate the Philippines. How "criminal aggression" in Cuba became "benevolent assimilation" in the Philippines has never been made quite clear even by the President's masterly use of Talleyrandian phrase and all the pharisaical cant about "duty" and "Providence."

The bad faith of our conduct toward the Filipinos was infamous. In his late letter of acceptance Mr. McKinley has the temerity to say: "Nobody who will avail himself of the facts will longer hold that there was any alliance between our soldiers and the insurgents." And yet he had previously, in Senate Document 62, third session of the Fifty-fifth Congress (his message on the Paris Treaty, with accompanying papers), furnished the country with facts directly and fatally controverting this statement in his letter. On page 342 of that document we find that our Consul-General Pratt, at Singapore, after consultation with Aguinaldo, sent the following cablegram to Commodore Dewey, then at Hongkong, about a week before the naval battle at Manila: "Aguinaldo, insurgent leader, here. Will come Hongkong arrange with Commodore for general co-operation insurgents Manila if desired. Telegraph. Pratt." To this the following answer was immediately returned: "Tell Aguinaldo come soon as possible. Dewey." Is it possible that "general co-operation" between the Filipinos and our forces, if it occurred, could be claimed by anybody for an instant to constitute anything short of an alliance? Words of more absolute import than "general co-operation" as applied to the conduct of two military forces engaged against the same enemy could not be found in the English language for describing an alliance. And the two forces did "co-operate." In his testimony at Paris General Merritt

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says that the Filipinos contributed very materially to the result. They had an army of thirty thousand men. They occupied fourteen miles of trenches on the landward side of Manila, in front of which was our fleet. We gave them several thousand stands of arms and assisted them in getting several thousand more. When Subig Bay was captured, we gave thirteen hundred Spanish prisoners into their keeping. Our troops were instructed to salute their officers. Our flagship, the Olympia, repeatedly dipped her colors to the two little vessels that flew the ensign of the nascent Filipino navy as they went in and out of the harbor. But if the President is strenuous about words, let us, in adding to this recital of a few of the many facts establishing an alliance, cite the testimony of Commander Bradford, for over sixty years in the navy, and an expert summoned to Paris to advise our Treaty Commission. On page 489 of this same Document 62, answering a question by Senator Frye, one of our Peace Commissioners, in which the Senator sets forth certain of the facts of co-operation between us and Aguinaldo, Commander Bradford says: "We become responsible for everything he has done; *he is our ally*, and we are bound to protect him."

With equal regard to the facts and an equally nice sense of National honor, Mr. McKinley says that nobody will hold "that any promise of independence was made to them." As if our duty were measured by what we may have said about it! From page 346 of Document 62 we learn that the Filipino junta at Hongkong sent over to the islands in advance of our squadron a proclamation beginning in these happy and confident words: "Compatriots: Divine Providence is about to place INDEPENDENCE [the emphasis is mine] within our reach, in a way the most free and independent nation could hardly wish for. The Americans, not from mercenary motives, but for the sake of humanity and the lamentations of so many persecuted people, have considered it opportune to extend their protecting mantle to our beloved country." And on page 431 is given a proclamation issued by Aguinaldo May 24, 1898, wherein he says substantially the same thing.

These aims and aspirations for liberty and independence were thus openly and loudly proclaimed to the world in our very ears, and, what adds to the pathos and irony of the situation, in words that attributed to us their hope of success. Our generals and admirals heard these patriotic and moving declarations. We were fighting to free Cuba, and they were fighting to free themselves: how could they suspect the tyrant under the guise of the liberator, the enemy behind the smile of the ally? For us under these circumstances to become the subjugators of the Filipinos is to earn a name for duplicity besides which *fides Pœna* and "perfidious Albion" must cringe in humbleness; and if by the deliberate voice of the American people we lend our countenance to the unspeakable hypocrisy of excusing our conduct on the ground that we "didn't promise" them justice, we shall go down in history as the Pecksniff of the nations.

It would be easy to show that the proposed policy must be as profitless as it is inglorious. Trade is better cultivated by peace than by war. Killing our best customers and earning the distrust and hatred of the impoverished survivors will not advance our commerce. General Otis and others consider sixty-five thousand men to be the minimum force required permanently in the Philippines to keep order. On the estimated basis of expense employed by the War Department, $1,000 a year per soldier, this means a continuous burden of $65,000,000 a year. Last year our exports to the islands were, in round numbers, $1,300,000. Supposing a net return of ten per cent. to have been realized, a few secured profits of $130,000 while the people at large paid $65,000,000 in additional taxes. When and how can such commerce be made profitable or just?

We cannot colonize the Philippine islands. No European colony in the tropics can show an appreciable percentage of the population composed of Europeans. The white races cannot live, work, and propagate in the tropics. Even if this were not so, our population, which averages about twenty-two to the square mile, would scarcely find occasion to emigrate to a country already populated to the extent of ninety-one to the square mile, which is the average of the Philippine Islands.

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Labor can look with no prospect of advantage on this colonial programme. Already the Pacific coast is beginning to re-agitate the question of Oriental labor competition, which under the proposed policy is a much more serious matter than that which led to the Chinese exclusion act. Moreover, factories cheaply built in the Philippine Islands and cheaply operated by imitative Oriental labor may soon be not only forestalling American labor of the expected new demands produced by the exploitation of the Far East, but also sending back products to dispute even the possession of our home markets.

From every standpoint this proposed colonial policy is wrong. It is based on injustice. It is costly. It involves fundamental changes in the government. It is sordid. It is cruel. It feeds on the lives of American soldiers and drinks the tears of mothers and widows. It destroys the splendid traditions of a century and a quarter of glorious National life. It give the lie to the Declaration of Independence. It saps the foundations of the Constitution. It puts out the light of the only great Republic left of all the experiments of the ages. It reverses the current of history. It stops the progress of man, and rebukes the purposes of the Almighty. It is both unpatriotic and impious.

Political Principles and Tendencies

By Charles W. Eliot

President of Harvard University

YOU have asked me for an academic article on the political principles and tendencies involved in the approaching Presidential election—an article which shall not dwell on the fears and hopes of to-day, but rather describe the deep and far-reaching currents of events and opinions. This request seems to imply that the election this fall is not a supreme crisis, like the second election of Lincoln, but only one indispensable act in a long drama. At any rate, that is my opinion.

In the first place, it seems to me that those men and those parties that suppose the American people likely to be permanently guided in their political action by any sordid commercialism or other form of national selfishness are grievously mistaken. Some party managers and all mercenary voters are governed by mean motives; but the mass of the people is never much influenced by pecuniary considerations in politics. The American people have long had a characteristic political and social enthusiasm. Their two steady, passionate sentiments are for the security, prosperity, and honor of the Republic, and for the spread among the white races of free institutions and of the good social conditions which grow out of them. Whenever the people of the United States are to be called on for great exertions and sacrifices, they have first to be persuaded that such exertions and sacrifices will contribute to one or other of these two causes which they have at heart. The various policies, whether domestic or foreign, of political parties should always be considered with reference to these fundamental National passions and sentiments.

In regard to domestic policies, three principal subjects have engaged public attention during the last thirty-five years. The first is the establishment of the gold standard and a sound banking system. Gradually, through prolonged discussion and much painful experience, the greater part of the people came to see that this problem touched the honor of the Republic, and affected deeply its industrial and commercial welfare. Then the problem began to be solved. The important gains which have lately been made on this subject are due to a majority of the Republican party and a minority of the Democratic; but at this moment the great cause of sound currency is practically defended by the Republican party alone.

The second fundamental topic of political discussion is a public service based on merit only. This reform has been promoted by the most competent statesmen of both parties; but the mass of neither party is as yet to be trusted with it. Nevertheless, much progress has been made within twenty years towards an economical, efficient, and honorable public service.

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The improvement, and indeed the maintenance, of republican government depends on the realization of this reform; for the public service becomes yearly more complicated and extensive, and requires in all its grades more and more intelligence and experience. The civil service in all its upper grades ought to be just as stable as service in the higher grades of the army and navy. It ought to offer a life career just as much as the army or navy, and on precisely the same conditions—namely, adequate education, long probation, steady work, gradual promotion, and retirement on a pension. Our republican government will fail to execute the real wishes and to fulfill the ideals of the American people, whether at home or abroad, unless the civil service is freed from the demoralizing influences of patronage and spoils, and made a permanent and honorable career, open under competitive methods to all competent American youth. At the present moment how can this reform be promoted? The personal and political history of the candidates of the Republican party should cause them to be preferred on this issue to the candidates of the Democratic-Populist party; for of the two candidates nominated by the latter party, one is a notorious spoilsman, and the other, being a civilian without military experience, accepted a colonelcy in time of war. That act speaks louder than orations. Moreover, recent experience shows that neither party can as yet be trusted to forego a spoils debauch at a complete change of the National administration.

The third important subject of political debate during the past thirty years has been the protective tariff. Gradually, by virtue of the inventive capacity and administrative skill of the American people, and in spite of legislative obstructions interposed by the Republican party, it has been demonstrated that the home market is altogether inadequate to maintain the principal American industries in steady activity. Through repeated painful experiences, the lesson that steady employment is much to be preferred to spasmodic, for the sake both of National welfare and of individual happiness, has been learnt by large masses of the population. An inadequate market always means spasmodic employment. It has become perfectly plain that the United States must have the markets of the world for the various products of its factories; and gradually the fundamental fact that, as a rule, one must sometimes buy, directly or indirectly, from the person to whom one would habitually sell, has been borne in on the popular mind, together with the corollary that the most satisfactory purchaser is he who has most to purchase with. Furthermore, the American people seem at last to have apprehended another far-reaching principle; namely, that in the long run it is more profitable for any people to sell the products of their skilled labor—like fabrics, utensils, and machinery—than to sell the crude products of their soil—like cotton, wheat, meats, and live-stock. In spite, however, of the wider and wider acceptance of these principles, the two great political parties do not distinctly join issue this year on the tariff question; so that the citizen who believes that the markets for American goods should be widened, and therefore that the imported raw materials for our industries should be freed from all duties, must consider which of the two parties is likely, on the whole, to be able to adopt legislation tending towards freer trade. Since the Democratic party has absolutely thrown away the low-tariff position which such leaders as Cleveland, Carlisle, Wilson, and Russell won for it, the reciprocity doctrine of the Republican party seems to afford the best immediate opportunity for liberal legislation; although it must be confessed that progress towards world-wide trade is more likely to come through the logic of events than through legislation—that is, through the increasing superiority of American industries and the manifest insufficiency of the home market. Against this chance of improving commercial and industrial conditions by reciprocity treaties must be set the strange subserviency of the Republican party leaders to small groups of capitalists who, having made great sums of money by means of high-tariff legislation, are willing to make large contributions to Republican campaign expenses in the expectation of preserving their special privileges. The "machine" or "boss" is, however, much the same corrupt and corrupting agency in both parties, Messrs. Quay and Platt being well matched by Messrs. Gorman and Croker.

In addition to these three principal sub-

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jects of domestic policy, another portentous subject has attracted much attention since 1893; namely, the frequent outbreaks of popular disorder and violence in different parts of the country. It is noteworthy that many of these outbreaks have been tolerated by both government and people, and that few effective efforts have been made to prevent their recurrence. The great railroad strike of Chicago was an exception in this respect; for as soon as that extraordinary local mob-rule was seen to threaten the general railroad traffic of the country and the distribution of food supplies, it was suppressed by the Democratic National executive and the United States courts, with the approval of both political parties. The striking thing about many recent outbreaks of mob violence has been that they have not been effectively dealt with by any public authority, National or local, Republican or Democratic. This alarming phenomenon is probably due in some measure to the absence in many parts of the country of an effective public force. Indeed, unlike European countries, the rural districts of the United States in general have no well-organized and trustworthy police, constabulary, or militia. Hence the impunity with which trains are held up, country banks and railroad stations are robbed, and numerous crimes of violence are committed in secluded places on private properties and persons. Even in large cities, race riots, and strikes accompanied by prolonged violence, have repeatedly taken place. In this state of affairs, any attack on the independence of the judiciary is much to be deprecated. Such an attack is made for the second time in the platform of the Democratic-Populist party.

In regard to foreign policy, it is not easy to state any material difference between the declared policies of the two great parties. President McKinley and Mr. Bryan use different phrases in describing their foreign policies; but when it came to action, in all probability their policies would be much alike. Practically, they agreed about the treaty of peace with Spain. One can conceive, of course, of a foreign policy absolutely distinct from that of the Republicans or the Democrats; namely, the policy of quitting Cuba, the Philippines, and China, and admitting Porto Rico to full standing as an American Territory, soon to be a State. But no party, old or new, has thus far squarely taken this position.

When a powerful nation goes to war, no man can ever tell what the real issues are to be. The war for Cuba was no exception in this respect. It had inevitable consequences which no mortal could have foreseen; and the gravest of these consequences are that the country is already committed beyond immediate recall to the maintenance of a large navy and a considerable army, and that it is involved in the struggles of the nations of Europe for new territory, influence, and trade in the Far East. Under these circumstances, the patriotic citizen has to consider this fall whether the public interests are to be better advanced by maintaining in power the present Administration, with all its shortcomings, or by providing a wholly untried one. President McKinley, in his unwonted function of sovereign and arbitrary ruler, committed a lamentable error in the tone of his proclamation to the Filipinos of December, 1898, and thereby involved his country in a cruel war—or rather a long series of military executions—with a semi-civilized but liberty-loving people who fought by our side against the Spaniards, and who ought to have been invariably addressed with the utmost consideration, not as purchased subjects or conquered foes, but as comrades and friends. His administration is responsible for gross delinquencies of public officers in Cuba, and for a less than generous treatment of the people of Porto Rico. It has also succumbed deplorably to a temptation which always besets rulers in time of war—the temptation to keep from the people the knowledge, not only of future plans, but of past events and of the documentary evidence relating thereto. This is one of the worst incompatibilities between war and public liberty. Nevertheless, the patriotic citizen may well hesitate to contribute, by vote or influence, to a complete change of administration. President McKinley is now surrounded by Cabinet officers of capacity and experience; and he has put good men at the head of affairs in Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines; while in case of a change in the Presidency nobody can tell to what sort of persons the great offices of the Government would be intrusted.

It must be confessed that a peace-loving

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citizen, who would like to see his country keep her breath to cool her own hot porridge, cannot but be much at a loss how to select his immediate political associations. The Republican administration, supported by a Republican majority in Congress, has, as a matter of fact, been fighting in foreign parts for two years and a half; the last Democratic administration took a very imperious tone with Great Britain in an insignificant dispute about an undefined portion of the boundary of Venezuela; and the actual Democratic ticket, in spite of Mr. Bryan's definition of the paramount issue, is supported by eminent advocates of American participation in all the great contentions of the wide world. The war-hating citizen, who clings to a domestic definition of his country's business, is further embarrassed by the reflection that some wide-spreading and pregnant benefits have already resulted from United States expansion in the West and East Indies—incontestably in Cuba, and probably in Porto Rico, the Philippines, and China.

Finally, it may be wholesome, under temporary excitements, to bear in mind that our free institutions have been two centuries and a half in attaining their present imperfect development, and that it will doubtless take as long to perfect them. It is the almost universal American belief that they are not destined to be destroyed.

September 17, 1900.

Sly Biddy Machree

By E. E. Garnett

"Hi for it, ho for it, hi for it still,
Och, and whoo!
Hi for the little house under the hill."

MANY things were troubling his Rev'rence, but sure the world was beautiful with the sheen of sunset over the rowan-trees, and wasn't that Biddy Machree tripping down the hill path? And wouldn't a smile from the like of her lift burdens from Ould Nick himself?

"Arrah," said his Rev'rence, beaming down on the brown head of her curtsying there before him, "it's sad things I'm hearing of you, avourneen. From over the hills down to the sea the word's gone that you've no heart at all at all."

"I do be thinkin', yer Riv'rence, how Terence Brady bates his wife."

"Och, you're a sly young crathure! But there's a cousin of Terence's, far removed, a broth of a boy. Do you think he'd have time to beat his wife?"

"Toime's aisy stretched, sorr, where there's a will. What should make it short for—is it Larry Byrne ye're mainin', yer Riv'rence?"

"Sure it's that same Larry, that has his time all under your feet, with the heart and a half of him."

"To-day, maybe. Anither day—? I do be thinkin' it's runnin' or riskin'.

"Whist, Biddy, in your ear, acushla: if you want to prove a boy, watch his mother."

"Eyah! Do ye think it's sure, yer Riv'rence?"

"Faith, do I. True to his ould mother, he'll be safe for his wife the longest day that comes. And so good-even to you, and a bright sun on the wedding, sly Biddy Machree!"

Biddy curtsied low again; and mischief danced in her eyes as she looked after him. Presently, when she turned, here was Larry Byrne coming. He'd a red rose in the strong hand of him.

"They're all over the door watchin' for ye," said Larry, "an' I hadn't the heart not to bring one to see."

"To see what?" asked Biddy, while she tucked the stem of it in her hair.

"Will ye be niver done playin', asthore? Sure ye know well how the cabin, an' the bit farm, an' the mither, an' meself, all's waitin' and dreamin'."

"'The mither'? Mistress Byrne'll be stayin', thin?"

"Av course; ye wouldn't—? Biddy—?"

"Sure, ye may say Biddy, but not Biddy Byrne, thanks be; an' so good-day to ye." She went past him beginning a song; and she'd the prettiest voice, that same Biddy, that sang from Tip'rary to the great sea. It drew Larry helplessly along in the wake of its sweet trills, until with the last

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note his lips were near the red, red rose. He whispered pleadingly into the heart of it.

"Mavourneen, what's come to ye?"

"Sinse," answered my lady, and stepped to a safer distance and tossed her head. The rose trembled.

"Wait," besought Larry, "till I fasten it."

But she shook it to his feet and laughed in the face of him.

"Take it to yer mither," she said.

Upon her doorstep, sniffing the perfume of the red blossoms about her lintel and the cool breaths that whiffed over from the far great sea, the mither sat knitting. There was a peat fire dying inside after toasting oat-cakes for supper, and it puffed faintheartedly, like Larry's pipe. What ail d the boy? Sure, it wasn't his way to sit glum. The mither smiled, and cunningly set herself to tickle the heart of him.

"Is it rare Biddy Machree we'll be talkin' av, ma bouchal?"

"It's yerself," said Larry, with a frown that cleared as he turned to her. "Do ye moind the toime whin I was a bit shaver an' we was vary poor?"

"Whist, now," and the tenderness made her voice sweet as Biddy's own, "what ails ye?"

"There was always a pratie for me," Larry went softly on, "an' ye'd always had yourn aforetime. 'Twas long after that I 'spicioned what ye'd had aforetime."

"Och thin, wasn't it all for meself, Larry dear? If ye grew wake like, ye great giant av a bhoy, could ye be takin' sich care av me since?"

"Do ye moind the toime I come from the fair stumblin' and staggerin', an' ye run out to help me up the path? Ye sung a bit tune that I mightn't see ye were affrighted sore; but in the dark, whin I waked—"

"What contrariness to be moindin' the one day that ye give me a hurt! Whist, now! sure it's meself that'll be stumblin' and staggerin' soon wid ould age, and well I know the strong arm that'll be helpin' me up the path."

"Yis," said Larry, "sure I'll kape it handy; but ould age'll be long afeared, I'm thinkin', av yer sunny ways, an' the heart av ye, an' the eyes av ye."

"An' I'll not moind," slyly, "if there's a rare young beauty on the ither arm."

"Ye'll have both arms," said Larry.

Then the mither looked at him and dropped her knitting.

"But ye're not sure, ma bouchal?"

"Sure."

"Whist now, whist!"

When the moon stole out of the great sea and looked past the roses, the giant boy's head leaned on the kerchief 'cross the mither's breast; and she rocked and crooned softly just as in that old time when he was a bit shaver and ate his pratie alone because she had taken hers aforetime.

A brave fair that next, and who so sweet and rare in all the length of it as Biddy Machree? She came down the street with handsome Mick Daly traveling close beside, and the sun poured gold on her brown hair and in her eyes as if it, too, loved her. Suddenly, demure reproach covered the brightness of her face, for there was Larry Byrne meeting her at the corner.

"Will ye give in?" she whispered, and waited near his shoulder.

"Niver!" said Larry. But her glance had made mush of the heart of him, and he went away with his hat pulled low.

There came another day when he met her coming down the hill path, singing, singing sweet old Irish words that melt into the sweet old Irish tune, and birds hush to hear. He set his lips hard, and stepped aside into the grass to leave her way free; but beside him she suddenly broke off the song, reached her hands to his breast, and hid her face there.

"Biddy!" cried Larry, and closed his arms round her with the sweep of a storm. "Biddy!"

"*Now* will ye give in?"

He pushed her from him and stood trembling.

"Sure, she'd be quite contínted," said Biddy, "boardin' 'round," and looked up at him.

"What's come to ye?" asked the poor giant boy, with a sob in his throat; "has the divil possissed ye?"

"Ask his Riv'rence," laughed Biddy, and went by with a bit curtsy. His Rev'rence was coming down the hill and smiling on the two of them. But meeting Larry's eyes, he began to question. Then he chuckled.

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"The sly crathure," he said; "look how she's running now with an eye over her shoulder, half frightened of the trick she's put on you, but watching if you'll come. Larry, man—"

But Larry was in pursuit. That one word, trick, let a flood of joyous light upon his wounds. His call was a clarion's pæan.

"Biddy asthore, acushla, mavourneen!" But she was suddenly deaf, that same Biddy, and fleet-footed, and she led him a fine chase.

'Twas 'way down under the white-thorn by the crossroads that he finally caught her and kissed her.

"I'll tell yere mither on ye!" panted the witch, and laughed softly against the thumping of his heart.

"Will ye give in?" mimicked Larry.

"Niver," she cried.

Radiant, hand in hand, they went to the door under the roses; and while Larry gathered buds for her bodice, sly Biddy Machree took the mither aside.

"I'll tell ye somethin'," softly; and, in the sweet Irish eyes of the two, smiles fought with tears—"somethin' ye don't know."

"Sure, it's meself knows how he loves ye," whispered the mither, and kissed her. But Biddy shook her head and laughed.

"There's anither woman in the heart of him," she said, "an' I'm nather runnin' nor riskin'."

Some Truths About the Missionaries

By John Barrett

Late United States Minister to Siam

SINCE the recent troubles in China the American papers have been full of discussions about the missionaries and their work. There has been a tendency to criticise them unfavorably rather than to give them credit for the good they are accomplishing. I shall not undertake in this article any special defense of the missionaries, because they do not require it, but I will endeavor to bring forward some truths about them and their labors which are not generally understood and appreciated at home. While there are many defects in the present system, there is no reason for holding the sixpence of unkind criticism so near the eye that we cannot see the good beyond.

For a period of four years there were over one hundred missionaries under my jurisdiction in Siam. They were stationed at widely distributed points, and operated under varying conditions. Their forces were made up of both men and women, so that the opportunity of studying the real value of their work was unusually extended. Moreover, it was my privilege to see much of missionary undertakings in China, Japan, Korea, and other countries of Asia. Going out to the Far East with a slight prejudice against missionaries, developed by much superficial talk against them which I encountered here and there, I came away convinced beyond question that if the results of their efforts through long years could be carefully weighed in the balance of public opinion, a large majority of our people would earnestly espouse the continuance of missionary effort everywhere in Asia.

Those who travel along the Asiatic coast must not be misled by the superficial talk of the treaty ports. There is a plain tendency in the clubs, and in many of the social circles to which the traveler is admitted, to speak unkindly and even sneeringly of what the missionaries are doing for the good of the Asiatics. One case of failure is held up so that a score of successes are not noted. The misguided zeal of one missionary discredits the tactful work of a dozen others. If a small coterie of missionaries, by act, resolution, sermon, or pamphlet, arouse a feeling against the missionaries as a whole, among both natives and foreigners, the large majority of other missionaries who have not sympathized with the propaganda of this small coterie are made to suffer the blame.

It is, therefore, necessary to go behind the scenes, as it were, and study the real operation of the missionary institutions. It is not untrue to say that the masses of the Asiatics are friendly towards the mis-

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sionaries, and welcome their presence among them wherever they are not misled by unscrupulous officials, or where they have not come in too close contact with the vicious influences which emanate from foreign commercial centers. The further back one gets, usually, from the large cities where foreign materialism is predominant, the more good the missionaries seem to accomplish. Therefore, when the merchant criticises the missionary, he should perhaps remove the beam from his own eye before demanding that the missionary shall remove the mote.

Looking frankly at the situation, it is well to note what are the failings in the missionary field. In the first place, too many men and women are sent out to Asia who are not qualified in mind or body for missionary work. They should never have been allowed to leave Europe or America. Too many who cannot succeed as ordinary missionaries or teachers in the church at home are sent to the Far East in the expectancy that they can convert the heathen, if they cannot convert their own people. This is a cardinal error. It takes a brighter, more tactful, and more devoted man to be successful in evangelical labor in China, Japan, and Siam than it does in the United States or in England. The man or woman of ordinary ability who cannot merit a call from a home church or be successful in home missions should never be sent across the Pacific. There should be as much care in selecting missionaries as there is in selecting the agents of business houses.

In Siam the missionaries, on the whole, were a remarkably capable and earnest body of men and women. Very few of them were inefficient, but those few were the occasion of all the complaints among the foreigners and among the Siamese against the others. I would not have it understood by this observation, however, that there was much complaint. There was very little, and the general impression was that the missionaries were accomplishing much good throughout that interesting kingdom. All the time it must be borne in mind that their results were greater back in the interior and away from the busy commercial and political capital of Bangkok than they were within its limits, where the natives could see continually the vices as well as the virtues of foreign presence.

The King of Siam, who is one of the ablest monarchs in the world, not infrequently complimented the missionaries and showed himself much interested in their undertakings. He often subscribed money for the encouragement of their plans, or gave them land on which they could erect their buildings for schools and hospitals. He put no obstacles in their way, but, on the other hand, removed many that troubled them. His instructions to his officials throughout the length and breadth of the kingdom were to assist and co-operate with the missionaries in every way consistent with their position. In all the years I was there, no complaint was filed by the missionaries against the attitude of the Government as a government, although at times some governors of interior provinces were guilty of acts which annoyed them. Likewise, the Siamese Government never complained to me of any unfortunate influences growing out of missionary zeal, although there were occasions when one or two individual missionaries, in their private capacity, were involved in matters that were not entirely pleasing to the Government.

Summing up my experience as United States Minister, I would say that I had far more trouble with tactless and selfish business agents and promoters than I had with all the missionaries under my jurisdiction.

It is not my intention to do any "whitewashing," or to say anything to gain favor with the missionaries. My desire is to tell only the truth. Some of my experiences with individual missionaries were both amusing and disappointing, but I would be the last to blame all of the missionaries or their course on account of these disagreeable incidents. There were in the missionary colony in Bangkok one or two men and women who refused to come to the American Legation on one Fourth of July, because I had had erected a large pavilion for dancing, and a ball was to be one of the principal features of the occasion; but the majority of the missionaries came, and enjoyed the celebration as much as I. This gave, however, an opportunity for other foreigners to speak of the bigotry of missionaries in general—a characteristic which was as

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unfounded as it was untrue. At another time a smoking concert was given at the club, the proceeds of which were divided between the Protestant and Catholic missionary institutions. One American missionary undertook to return the contribution because it represented the proceeds of a "smoking" concert, but his action was not supported by ninety per cent. of the others; and yet that instance is cited everywhere in the Far East as an illustration of missionary intolerance.

Too many people lay stress on the question of conversions alone. While I would contend that the missionaries are meeting with greater success in converting Asiatics than is generally supposed, still I would lay especial emphasis on the results of their educational and medical work. Everywhere the excellence of the schools and hospitals of the missionaries is acknowledged. The good influences, moreover, that radiate from them tend to make better men and women among the natives. It is no exaggeration to say that the missionaries are solely responsible for preventing the spread of smallpox all over China, Japan, and Siam. They alone were successful in introducing vaccination and in convincing the people that it was both harmless and valuable. In Siam particularly they accomplished wonderful results in this way. The King more than once referred to the fact that the missionaries were responsible for the elimination of smallpox as a plague in his land. The disease of course prevails there all the time to a considerable extent, but not to any such degree as formerly. One eminent American missionary, whose name will never be forgotten in that part of the world, Dr. Bradley, is accredited with having vaccinated fifty thousand Siamese in the course of his many years' residence in that country, making in that way an effectual barrier throughout the kingdom to the propagation of the disease.

Another prominent American medical missionary, who came later and went into northern Siam, Dr. M. A. Cheek, accomplished so much good in a general way that he was loved and respected by princes and paupers throughout an extent of country as large as New England. He treated as many as eighteen thousand people in one year. They came to him in crowds from all over the country, and he never turned any of them away, whether they could pay or not for his services. His simplest surgical operations were new to them, and made thousands of men and women whole and happy who would otherwise have been cripples all their lives. Likewise, in the heart of China, Japan, and Korea, American missionary doctors have proved the advantages of Christian civilization by object-lessons of medical and surgical work where never before were the benefits of these agencies understood.

There is another point to be continually borne in mind. The missionaries everywhere teach patriotism. In their schools and in their churches they bring up the boys and girls to love their own country. The real meaning of patriotism in Japan was brought home to the people first by the teachings of the American missionaries. In Siam the love of their country and of their King is paramount in all the teachings of the missionaries. The children and the grown people learn patriotic songs composed either by the teachers or themselves; they recite patriotic pieces in their own language, and they are taught the history of their own country in a way to develop their love for it. Throughout China the policy of the missionaries everywhere has been to develop a patriotic spirit, and not a hostile feeling to the Government, as is often portrayed. There may be exceptions to this statement, but they are few.

The missionary schools have educated the majority of the native boys and young men who are now employed in the large foreign business houses. They may not remain Christians, or they may never have been converted in the first place, but they are developed into an earnest, energetic, and ambitious body of men who want to see their own country advance along lines of modern civilization. If these young men who were educated in the missionary schools learn bad habits and sometimes go to the bad, such results are due more to the foreign material surroundings than to the methods of their education. When we hear of boys in Asia going wrong who were graduates of the missionary schools, we must remember that this likewise happens in the case of our own schools, and does not prove in China any more than it does in America that Christian schools are harmful. If

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one boy goes wrong, the whole school is blamed—it is the same old story.

When I first went to the Far East, I heard it stated that the schools for girls were nothing more than preparatory experiences in which they learned in due time to become the mistresses of the foreigners. This assertion is as untrue as it is cruel, and is combated by the most reliable statistics in the possession of the missionaries in all Asiatic countries. If it is reported at the club or in the gossip of foreign social circles that a bright, pretty girl, who graduated from a missionary school, has become the mistress of a foreigner, every person says knowingly, "I told you so," as if it were a common circumstance. While one girl, however, follows this unfortunate life, ninety-five per cent. of the others make good wives of the native young men, or become employed as teachers or in some other profession, leading virtuous and good lives. The world does not seem to be interested in knowing how many native young men and girls lead straightforward lives, but only in those who fall by the wayside.

Let us, therefore, be fair in all this discussion of the missionaries. It is well to note that nearly every Minister or Consul of the United States who has lived many years in Asia, and therefore has been brought in the closest contact with the missionaries and their work where he could study all the details of it, comes home more favorably disposed towards them than he was when he began his duties. He recognizes and admits their faults and weaknesses, but he would not have the world overlook their virtues and their strong points. In China, for instance, there would never have been an outbreak of Boxers on account of missionary influences alone. Had it not been for the unwarranted seizures of Chinese territory by foreign nations and their arbitrary course inspired by a commercial spirit, we might not have had this outbreak against the foreigners, the cause of which is laid at the door of the missionary. Moreover, the recent Boxer troubles had their promptings largely in the conditions accompanying the very serious famine which characterized the northern provinces of Chili, Shantung, and Shansi. When the rivers and wells became dry, unscrupulous officials, who were angry with the missionaries because they had educated the natives to distinguish between right and wrong and between justice and injustice, told the people that the sources of water supply had been dried up by the gods, who were angered by the missionaries' teachings and methods, and wanted the people to punish them. They also claimed that the wells were poisoned by the foreign devils, and would not, therefore, flow and quench their thirst without also bringing death.

The real cause of anti-missionary feeling among the native Chinese is not due to the teachings of the missionaries, as a whole, or to the presence of the missionaries among them, but to fear and hatred inspired by dishonest local officials all over the Empire. The missionaries, naturally, have taught the people to appreciate when they are treated fairly as law-abiding citizens. They learn, therefore, to distinguish between the honest and the corrupt official, and when they do not get justice they complain to a higher authority, with the result that the under official is reprimanded by the higher one; in turn, he lays the blame upon the missionaries, and never loses an opportunity to encourage anti-missionary feeling among the people, hoping thereby to drive the foreigners from the country and allow himself an unlimited field for his evil practices. It is not true that the average missionary interferes in purely Chinese matters. Only when he himself is mistreated does he report the matter to the foreign consul, who, in turn, invokes the aid of the Minister at Peking, and then the matter comes back through the viceroy or governor. Of course this chain of action exerts its influence, and the dishonest local official is angered, and vents his feeling on the missionary.

We cannot think of withdrawing our missionaries from the Far East unless we are willing to withdraw our merchants. Our ministers of the Gospel must remain as long as our ministers of diplomacy. Let us bend our energies to correct and improve the missionary system in the same way that we would labor to correct and improve our diplomatic, consular, and commercial systems. Thus there will be an advancement all along the line of foreign influence, and not only Asia but Europe and America will be alike benefited.

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The Philosophy of Religion[1]

WE do not know any writer of our time who has advanced deeper and more luminously than Professor Royce into the heart of the problems of Theism, and this with a manifest warmth of religious feeling under steady control by rigorous logic. In his present work, as in its predecessors, he is concerned with the essential questions of the philosophy of religion. The same interest and the same general positions appear, but the argument takes a new form with a deepening significance. He undertakes here to show what we mean by Being, in general, and by the Reality that we attribute to God, to the World, and to the Human Individual—an inquiry which, though abstract in appearance, bears directly, as he says, upon the daily concerns of religion. It leads up in his argument to the conviction that "we have no other dwelling-place but the single unity of the divine consciousness. In the light of the eternal we are manifest, and even this very passing instant pulsates with a life that all the worlds are needed to express." The present series, the first half of the course given before the University of Aberdeen last winter, is largely devoted to clearing the ground for a presentation of the true nature and meaning of Individuality, a term much misunderstood, as the crucial point of the problem concerning the relations connecting God, the world, and the individual. We are thus conducted to a statement of it in the closing lecture, preparatory to the larger treatment awaiting it in the second series soon forthcoming. An elaborate Supplementary Essay concludes the volume, with which, however, we shall not deal, as it is designed for technical readers—a discussion of "The One, the Many, and the Infinite," in a critical reply to Mr. Bradley's profound work, "Appearance and Reality."

As Professor Royce observes, the task of philosophy, in the thinking both of children and of sages, is the effort of Thought to comprehend Being, to arrive at Reality. And what common sense and science agree in reporting to us at the outset is a discouraging contrast between the internal meaning and the external validity of our ideas, *i.e.*, between things as we conceive them and things as they are. This difficulty begins to be cleared when we discover that the truth or falsity of our ideas depends on what the *purpose* is which our ideas embody and attempt to attain. This consideration, essentially reached by Kant and Hegel, Professor Royce pronounces momentous and inexhaustible, yet in some aspects too much neglected. In these lectures this consideration is elaborated in connection with a study of its relations to other conceptions of Reality which have dominated the religious and the scientific world.

In answer to the ultimate question of plilosophy, What is Reality? four conceptions of Being contend for the suffrages of thinkers. Two of these, the Realistic and the Mystic, the former represented by Kant's "Things-in-Themselves" and Leibnitz's "Monads," the latter by the Brahm of the Hindu and the Eternal of Spinoza, are the polar opposites of each other. These a rigorous dialectic, at once lucid and acute, conducts to logical agreement in "the realm of Nothingness," a *reductio ad absurdum* of every definite finite idea of the Real. A third conception of Being, represented by Kant's later theory of "Objects of Possible Experience," is that of the Critical Rationalist, a modified and more coherent sort of Realism, which attributes real Being to whatever has been tested and verified by an experience confirmatory of our ideas. The defect of this is that it fails to reach finality. Much possible experience there is which one avoids testing, or cannot test. What is it, then? A mere conception? Then where is its Truth? An external fact? Then what is its Being?

Thus the argument approaches answer to Pilate's question, What is Truth?—real Being. We find, rèplies Professor Royce, that "every step towards Truth is a step away from vague possibilities,

[1] *The World and the Individual:* Gifford Lectures, delivered before the University of Aberdeen. First Series: The Four Historical Conceptions of Being. By Josiah Royce, Ph.D., Professor of the History of Philosophy in Harvard University. The Macmillan Company, New York.

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and towards determinateness of idea and of experience." And again: "There is no purely external criterion of truth." Furthermore, we find that our ideas are essentially *teleological*, not mere images, but embodiments of a conscious purpose, intending some sort of correspondence with whatever object it selects to seek its satisfaction therein. An idea is a will seeking its fulfillment by finding in its object its conscious purpose or meaning embodied in determinate form. Omitting here some auxiliary considerations, the conclusion reached is that true Being, the Reality that gives true ideas their truth, that which, if known, would end all doubt or error, is

> an individual life, for which no other can be substituted. . . . In its wholeness the world of Being is the world of individually expressed meanings—an individual life consisting of the individual embodiments of the wills represented by all finite ideas. Now, *to be*, in the final sense, means to be just such a life, complete, present to experience, and conclusive of the search for perfection which every finite idea in its own measure undertakes.

"In finding this world," asks Professor Royce, "have we not been already led to the very definition of the divine life?" If this outcome of the discussion is sound, then, as he observes, the conception of Being, which is often regarded as the most abstract, "is really the most concrete and living of all our ideas."

The ground thus being cleared for considering the problem of the World and the Individual, as involving the central questions of religion, the argument enters upon the task of a religious theory which holds to the sovereignty of God, the unity of the world, the freedom of the individual, and the deathless meaning of the life of each. The two concluding lectures are devoted to the two contrasting aspects of the idealistic world—first its unity, and next the individuality and variety of finite beings, and the relative freedom of their acts.

In his "Conception of God" Professor Royce, by no means an adherent of traditional theology, affirmed that what the faith of the fathers genuinely meant by *God* is the inevitable outcome of a thoroughly reflective philosophy. Fully accepting the Pauline dictum, "in him we live," he gives full expression in these lectures to its inevitable corollary, "in him we will." Holding that God's life, as the Absolute Reality in which all finite ideas find final fulfillment, sees "the single consciousness winning its purpose by virtue of all the ideas of all the individual selves and of all the lives," he affirms, as a consequent thereof, "that every finite purpose . . . is a partial expression and attainment of the divine will, and also that every finite fulfillment of purpose . . . is a partial fulfillment of the divine meaning." Professor Royce, however, is conspicuous among monistic thinkers for the intense emphasis which he puts upon Individuality, while asserting the Universal Unity in which it often seems engulfed and lost. "The essence of the Real is to be Individual," *i.e.*, the unique and only fulfillment of a purpose. "It is will in God and in man that logically determines the consciousness of individuality." "Except as consciously fulfilling a purpose, nothing can, logically speaking, exist at all." Now, the *crux* of the problem in any scheme of Idealistic Monism, such as this, is in the apparent antinomy between the One Will and the Many which emerges in the case of an evil will. This, which Professor Royce has elsewhere undertaken to solve, is not cleared in the present volume, though it thrusts itself forward provokingly, as in the following: "When I thus consciously and uniquely will, it is I then who just here *am* God's will, or who just here consciously act for the whole. I then am so far free." But in this series the statement of the doctrine of the Individual is only begun, and we may expect our deferred satisfaction from its successor. Meanwhile we listen with deep satisfaction to two strong notes which resound throughout Professor Royce's philosophy; viz., the essentially teleological or purposive character of the universe of Being, and the essentially active character of our ideas, as more the expressions of a volitional and constructive consciousness than the impressions and images of external facts. It opens an outlet from agnosticism and materialism to see that knowledge is thus conditioned by creative will. The thoroughgoing affirmation of these principles as essential to any sound philosophy is by itself sufficient to give distinctive merit to the work of Professor Royce.

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Books of the Week

This report of current literature is supplemented by fuller reviews of such books as in the judgment of the editors are of special importance to our readers. The absence of comment in this department in many cases indicates that extended review will be made at a later date. Any of these books will be sent by the publishers of The Outlook, postpaid, to any address on receipt of the published price.

Art of Breathing as the Basis of Cone-Production (The). By Leo Kofler. Illustrated. (Fifth Revised Edition.) Edgar S. Werner Publishing and Supply Co., New York. 5½×8 in. 277 pages. $2.

As It Is To Be. By Cora Linn Daniels. (Sixth Thousand.) Little, Brown & Co., Boston. 4½×7 in. 294 pages. $1.

With marked differences, this is a book of the same type as Mrs. Phelps-Ward's "Gates Ajar," so much talked of in its day. It records a case of clairaudience, a record of conversations with Voices, which, as a matter of fact, the author says she has held with unseen intelligences at frequent intervals. These conversations yield, through question and answer, copious descriptions of the invisible world, its society, principles, powers, and occupations. With a strongly ethical and religious tone, it is practically a wholesome book, whatever be thought of its revelations of the unseen things. Much of it is purely speculative. The old Platonic doctrine of ideas, eternal in themselves and of creative potency, reappears here, together with the Platonic and Gnostic doctrine that evil inheres only in material things—the author explicitly asserting that there is "no spiritual evil"—from which we strongly dissent.

Attainment of Womanly Beauty of Form and Features (The). By Twenty Physicians and Specialists. Edited by Albert Turner. Illustrated. The Health Culture Co., New York. 5×7 in. 256 pages. $1.

Aunt Hannah and Seth. By James Otis. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. 5½×7¼ in. 109 pages 50c.

A somewhat sentimental story of a boy who is frightened away from New York by a lawyer's advertisement asking for information about him, which he and his friends think is due to his having passed a lead nickel which had been given to him. The boy and his dog flee from possible pursuit, and meet with pleasant country adventures before the matter is understood.

Autobiography of a Tomboy (The). By Jeannette L. Gilder. Illustrated. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. 4½×7½ in. 349 pages. $1.25.

A very entertaining chapter from the life of an unconventional child and girl, to whom, by reason of her active temperament, happenings of all sorts were matters of ordinary experience; whose perils were many, whose pranks were more, and whose vitality, unconsciously diffused through this narrative, has a contagious quality. Miss Gilder has told her story with simplicity, frankness, and graphic skill. The directness of the narrative and its lack of self-consciousness separate it by a long distance from many books of its class.

"Beautiful Thoughts" from Robert and Elizabeth Browning. Arranged by Margaret Shipp. James Pott & Co., New York. 4×6 in. 380 pages. 75c.

Between Boer and Briton. By Edward Stratemeyer. Illustrated. Lee & Shepard, Boston. 5×7½ in. 354 pages. $1.25.

A story of the adventures of two boys, one American, the other English, during the present war in South Africa. The story bristles with action. The feeling between British and Boers is pictured with a painstaking impartiality of especial value to young readers, and the adventurous spirit is sustained without flagging to the end.

Birds of My Parish (The). By Evelyn H. Pollard. Illustrations. John Lane, New York. 5×7¾ in. 295 pages. $1.50.

A dainty, interesting volume, the finely printed pages and delicate photogravure illustrations of which accord well with the author's leisurely observations on the habits and secrets of the feathered friends of whom she writes. Although the author intimates that the immortal Gilbert White left little to be said concerning local birds, the reader soon discovers that no apology is needed for the present volume. It is the outcome of patient love and rare insight. The style is that of easy, picturesque narrative, and a good deal of the description is cast in the form of bird conversation, as the various families meet and live out their daily lives. This method lends vivid life and sympathetic charm to the telling.

Books that Nourish Us. By Annie Russell Marble. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. 4¾×7¼ in. 26 pages. 35c.

In this brief essay Mrs. Marble lightly but firmly touches numerous points of note, and gives judicious suggestions to those whose taste is as yet unformed, as well as wholesome cautions against the omnivorous gluttony which ends in mental indigestion and weakness. One who is asking, What shall I read? would do well to read this first.

Brownie. By Amy Le Feuvre. Illustrated. American Tract Society, New York. 6×8¼ in. 206 pages. $1.25.

Buffie and Brownie and Angelo, in their game of "Perils" and their rambles through wood and meadow, are happy companions for other children.

Child of Glee and How She Saved the Queen (A). By A. G. Plympton. Illustrated. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. 5½×7½ in. 300 pages. $1.50.

This in a way is a child's version of "The Prisoner of Zenda," for a little American girl so strongly resembles the ten-year-old Queen of Avaril that she is able to impersonate her, thereby defeating conspirators who plot against her throne.

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Christmas-Tree Scholar and Other Stories (A). By Francis Bent Dillingham. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. 5¼×7½ in. 184 pages, 50c.

A story for every holiday—Christmas, New Year's, St. Valentine's Day, Washington's Birthday, Fourth of July—even the first of April.

Complete Poetical Works of Elizabeth Barrett Browning. (Cambridge Edition.) Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. 5½×8½ in. 530 pages. $3.

This substantial one-volume edition of Mrs. Browning finds its place in the Cambridge Edition of the poets, and in point of editorial intelligence and excellence of book-making deserves the select companionship of a group of books which present in the most convenient and accurate form a group of English and American classics. The text is the most authoritative. Mrs. Browning's use of italics and of capitals has been followed; the head notes to the poems are confined chiefly to biographical and bibliographical detail; criticism and comment from a literary point of view are to be found in the appendix; in which appears also Mrs. Browning's well-known paper on the Greek Christian poets.

Constantinople. By Edwin A. Grosvenor. Introduction by General Lew Wallace. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. 2 vols. 6×9 in. $4.

Professor Grosvenor's two-volume work on Constantinople is reproduced in a new edition at a greatly reduced price. General Lew Wallace furnishes an introduction, and the volumes are enriched by two hundred and fifty illustrations selected for the purpose of interpreting the text and not simply to make the volumes attractive to the eye. The work, which was noticed at length on its appearance, promises to be one of permanent value.

Divided Skates. By Evelyn Raymond. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. 5¼×7½ in. 127 pages. 50c.

A rather pretty story of a newsboy who is adopted by a wealthy woman. He becomes lonely in the great empty house, and the newsboys who were his companions are brought to share his home and its opportunities with him.

English Literature. By Stopford A. Brooke, M.A. With Additions by George R. Carpenter. The Macmillan Co., New York. 4½×6¾ in. 358 pages. $1.

A new edition of what still remains the best and most satisfactory manual of English Literature, with additional chapters by Professor George R. Carpenter, of Columbia University, bringing down the story of English literature from the point at which Mr. Brooke left it through the period ending with the deaths of Tennyson and Browning, and a complementary chapter on literature in this country.

Essays, Letters, Miscellanies. By Count Lyof N. Tolstoï. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. 4¾×7½ in. 605 pages. $2.

To those who worship, not "the God of things as they are," but the "God of things as they ought to be," these are stimulating and often inspiring papers. The opening essays on war denounce even our war to end war in Cuba, but no one who really loves the gospel of peace can fail to be moved by them. It is more than a half-truth which Count Tolstoï expresses when he says: "Patriotism may have been a virtue in the ancient world, when it compelled men to serve the highest idea of those days—the fatherland. But how can patriotism be a virtue in these days, when it requires of men an ideal exactly opposite to that of our religion and morality—an admission, not of the equality and fraternity of all men, but of the dominance of one country or nation over all others." Those interested in the temperance agitation cannot be urged too strongly to read Tolstoï's three essays upon it. The remaining essays cover a large variety of subjects, and, as we said in the beginning, are stimulating reading to all who do not accept the "piazza philosophy" "that nowadays nothing is wrong."

Expatriates (The). By Lillian Bell. Harper & Bros., New York. 5×7½ in. 432 pages. $1.50.

The first novel written by Lillian Bell is a distinctly notable volume, although here and there the over-fastidious critic may detect what seems to him rather amateurish aimings at theatrical effect. The story, as a whole, however, in plot, character-sketches, and style, is a distinctly strong and subtle effort. The scene is for the most part laid in Paris, and we have in particular a description of the awful conflagration at the Bazar de la Charité, at which the only killed and disabled persons were women—the men having all escaped! The cleverest part of the book, however, lies in the author's incisive descriptions of Anglo-American-French society in Paris. Her frequent sarcasm is always apt and telling.

Evangeline. By Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Edited by Lewis B. Semple, Ph.D. The Macmillan Co., New York. (Pocket English Classics.) 4¼×5¾ in. 137 pages. 25c.

Faith, Hope, and Love: A Handbook of Christian Truth for Children. Arranged by Rev. Oliver Huckel. John S. Bridges & Co., Baltimore, Md. 5×7 in. 29 pages. Paper bound, 15c.

Mr. Huckel thinks that children should commit more of the Bible to memory. He has prepared this catechism as a treasury of its choicest passages. Its emphasis is on Christian love and character. This is the third catechism that has come to us within the year—a fact indicative of a growing conviction both of the superior benefit of the old-time catechetical method and of the need of renovating its antiquated form.

Fate Mastered—Destiny Fulfilled. By W. J. Colville. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. 5×7¼ in. 52 pages. 35c.

There is more sound sense and helpful suggestion in this little book than in many of ten times its size. Mr. Colville has gleaned in divers fields, and his affinities with various schools of thought are evident, while we hesitate to class him wholly with any except the idealistic philosophers. The phrase so frequently in the mouth of the great Church historian Neander, "From within outward," expresses the core of his theory of the life that overcomes the world. "The greatest of all lessons is so to behave in the midst of turmoil that our influence will produce a great calm." For our influence is really our effluence. Our thoughts furnish our shields. In them may

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be realized "an illimitable dynamic energy." "Concentrate and meditate," not in Hindu but in Anglo-Saxon fashion; this will be forceful in the West or East. Mr. Colville is a true optimist, and in his own way endeavors to enforce Spencer's maxim, "Hasten the evolution."

Fifer-Boy of the Boston Siege. By Edward A. Rand. A. I. Bradley & Co., Boston. 5×7½ in. 326 pages. $1.25.

It seems safe to forecast that this will be one of the popular boys' books of the season. It is a well-told version of a perennially popular subject—the opening of the War of Independence in the colonies. Cast in the form of fiction, with the fifer-boy as hero, it yet preserves intact the main facts of history.

Fortune's Boats. By Barbara Yechton. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. 5×8 in. 357 pages. $1.50.

The story of a family of girls—their love affairs and their ultimate happy marriages. Mildly interesting, but by no means exciting.

Golden Legend (The). As Englished by William Caxton. (The Temple Classics. Edited by F. S. Ellis.) The Macmillan Co., New York. 4×6 in. 257 pages. 50c.

Helen Beaton, College Woman. By Adelaide L. Rouse. A. I. Bradley & Co., Boston. 5×8 in. 292 pages. $1.25.

There is handling of serious questions in this book—as the sub-title might lead one to suspect. It deals only with the closing college days of a quintette of girl chums, whose talk and actions are depicted in sprightly and engaging manner.

Hour of Opportunity (The). By Orison Swett Marden. Assisted by Abner Bayley. 5×7¼ in. 54 pages. 35c. **Good Manners and Success.** By Orison Swett Marden. Assisted by Abner Bayley. 5×7¼ in. 64 pages. 35c. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York.

Mr. Marden's larger books are admirable presentations of incentives to strenuous and noble living. He has done well for those who are partial to small doses to put into these dainty white booklets the same wisdom and enthusiasm for making the most and best of one's self. The first should be read especially by those young men who think that the world's opportunities are smaller now than formerly; the latter especially in that too-neglected school of the "minor morals," the family home. Mr. Marden does not preach to his readers, but his anecdotes and bits of personal history carry points and stick. Excellent gift-books for young folk are these two.

Life of Francis Parkman (A). By Charles Haight Farnham. With Portraits. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. 5½×8½ in. 394 pages. $2.50.

Reserved for fuller comment.

Life, Unpublished Letters, and Philosophical Regimen of Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury. Edited by Benjamin Rand, Ph.D. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5¾×9 in. 535 pages. $4.

The English moralist whose unpublished works, obtained from the Shaftesbury Papers now in the Record Office at London, are issued in this volume, stands alone among moderns in the triumvirate who chiefly represent the Stoical philosophy. A gulf of centuries separates him from his compeers, the Greek slave Epictetus and the Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius. His "Regimen," as he termed the reflections in which he endeavored to find the right principles of life and to apply them to his own conduct, comprises half of the present volume. He was the first moralist, says the late Professor Sidgwick, to demonstrate a normal harmony between disinterested social affection and a reasonable self-love; the first, also, to find the basis of ethics in psychological experience. The publication of this volume invites fresh critical study from the Stoical standpoint taken in his "Characteristics," which marked, says Sidgwick, "a turning-point in English ethical thought." His heretofore unpublished correspondence, aside from its philosophical, political, and literary interest, reveals in his benevolent interest in promoting the aspirations of struggling young men the same philanthropic spirit which his descendant, the seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, so conspicuously illustrated in our own times.

Literary Essays of Thomas Babington Macaulay. Selected by George A. Watrous. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. 4×6 in. 321 pages. 50c.

In this very tasteful little volume Mr. Watrous has brought together some of Macaulay's most characteristic essays. His best work was not literary, but historical; but these Essays are such agreeable reading, are so full of his qualities of style, and are so conspicuous in the English literary history of this century that no student can afford to leave them unread. They have never before been put in a more convenient form.

Little Dreamer's Adventure (The). By Frank Samuel Child. Illustrated. Lee & Shepard, Boston. 4¾×7½ in. 230 pages. $1.25.

This little book is well described by its sub-title "A Story of Droll Days and Droll Doings." Mr. Child has great knowledge of and love for the family and religious life of colonial times in New England; and his affectionate study of that period has borne fruit in more than one interesting record. He also has great love for children; this book, although entirely independent, is in one sense a continuation of an earlier story with the charming title "The House with Sixty Closets." "The Little Dreamer's Adventure" has to do with an ingenious arrangement and interpretation of the days and seasons, very cleverly conceived and executed, and with a meaning which is obvious without being intrusive. Mr. Child has assumed the possession of considerable cleverness on the part of the children who read his book; they will find much that is ingenious and entertaining in it; but it is to be hoped that it will not lead them into the habit of punning.

Lost Continent (The). By Cutcliffe Hyne. Illustrated. Harper & Bros., New York. 5×7¾ in. 353 pages. $1.50.

The lost island of Atlantis is certainly a good starting-point for a tale of mystery and marvels. The imagination displayed is of the same order shown by Rider Haggard's "She." Neither book belongs to literature, but both are fertile in a crude imaginative power. Here some intensely modern Englishmen traveling with a kodak and filled with a love of romance find a wonderful manuscript—as is customary

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in tales of this kind. If the manuscript does not solve the vexed problems of the lost continent, it at least provides an exciting story.

Lyrics. By J. Houston Mifflin. Henry T. Coates & Co., Philadelphia. 5×8 in. 70 pages. $1.

Man-Stealers (The). By M. P. Shiel. The J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia. 4½×7 in. 339 pages. 50c.

Marpessa. By Stephen Phillips. Illustrated by Philip Connard. 4½×5½ in. 46 pages. 50c. **The Statue and the Bust.** By Robert Browning. Illustrated by Philip Connard. John Lane, New York. 4½×5½ in. 47 pages. 50c.

These representative poems by Stephen Phillips and by Browning are issued in dainty miniature quartos, attractively printed on a broad page, with suggestive illustrations by Philip Connard.

Meaning of History. By Frederic Harrison. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 482 pages. $1.75.

Mr. Frederic Harrison is always a brilliant writer, though we cannot regard him as a profound thinker. His Positivist philosophy appears very clearly in the following sentences from his essay on The Use of History: "What is this unseen power which seems to undo the best human efforts, as if it were some overbearing weight against which no man can long struggle? What is this ever-acting force which seems to revive the dead, to restore what we destroy, to renew forgotten watchwords, exploded fallacies, discredited doctrines, and condemned institutions; against which enthusiasm, intellect, truth, high purpose, and self-devotion seem to beat themselves in vain? It is the Past. It is the accumulated wills and works of all mankind around us and before us. It is civilization. It is that power which to understand is strength, which to repudiate is weakness." This is finely phrased, but is it true? It appears to us alike inconsistent with that scientific doctrine which is called evolution, and that Christian faith which is called redemption. We quote these sentences because they seem to us to illustrate both the strength and the weakness of Frederic Harrison's work. His strength lies in his knowledge of facts, his sense of perspective, his clearness and color in presentation; his weakness lies in a point of view which deprives history of its true significance—namely, that it is the record of a movement of events wrought out apparently by contradictory wills and unintelligent contributors, but really by a supreme will and intelligence, which is using them, however little they realize it, to achieve a final end which the most prophetic of men but dimly perceive.

Moon Metal (The). By Garrett P. Serviss. Harper & Bros., New York. 4¼×6¾ in. 164 pages. $1.

This volume by the well-known writer and lecturer ought to be very widely read just at this juncture, for his ingenious plot of drawing from the moon a metal unknown to the earth—a metal which becomes our world's coinage—proves to be a not altogether far-fetched argument for sound money.

On the Wings of Occasions. By Joel Chandler Harris. Illustrated. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. 5×8 in. 310 pages. $1.50.

Four short stories unlike anything Mr. Harris has done before, for the most part describing incidents and personages in the service of the Confederacy during the Civil War. Mr. Harris has ventured in this volume into the field of the detective story, and the plot to kidnap Lincoln proves that, if the author chose to push his gift along this line, he could achieve distinct success. This story will be read for other reasons also; it is full of humor, it shows a beautiful appreciation of Lincoln, and the light it sheds on the relations between the President and the Secretary of War is illuminating, if not definitely revealing. "Why the Confederacy failed," with its description of a fully organized group of detectives in the service of the Confederacy, but employed as waiters in the old New York Hotel, is an admirable piece of narrative work, and presents Mr. Harris in the guise of a successful claimant for the laurels which Dr. Conan Doyle has worn for a number of years.

Oregon Trail (The). By Francis Parkman. Illustrated by Frederic Remington. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. 5½×8½ in. 411 pages. $2.

Mr. Parkman's account of his journey to the Far West in the summer of 1847 is now brought out in an illustrated edition, handsomely printed, and enriched by seventy-five sketches or studies by Mr. Frederic Remington, who better than any other American artist was qualified to interpret the text to the eye. There are many full-page illustrations, and there is a new introductory preface. If Mr. Parkman's text, with its marvelous vividness and picturesqueness, needed any aid, it has received the most intelligent and valuable aid from one of the men who knows the American Indian most intimately and sympathetically.

Pageantry of Life (The). By Charles Whibley. Harper & Bros., New York. 5×7¾ in. 269 pages. $1.50.

A pleasantly written, discursive series of essays about those Englishmen who have illustrated the art of social life from the standpoint of the dandy, from the time of Nash to that of the younger Disraeli. The introduction is an entertaining survey of the field. One of the courtiers of the time of Henry VIII., who falls a victim to the King's vengeance on the downfall of Anne Boleyn, is taken to illustrate the manners and habits of the sixteenth century; Nash, Brummel, Doray, Beckford, and Disraeli bring the story down to our own time. The book deals with the surface of things, but deals with them in an interesting fashion.

Plain Miss Cray, The. By Florence Warden. F. M. Buckles & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 327 pages. $1.25.

Irish tales are generally worth reading, and this one is no exception to the rule, even if the people do seem a trifle commonplace at times. While one fancies that certain pages of the novel were hastily written, the work as a whole is one of promise, and its readers will await the author's next romance with interest.

Private Memoirs of Madame Roland (The). Edited by Edward Gilpin Johnson. Illustrated. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. 4¾×7½ in. 381 pages. $1.50.

"Those Memoirs which all the world still reads," said Carlyle of the private memoirs

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written by Madame Roland during her five months' imprisonment. Oddly enough, no English translation has been easily attainable. That published in London two years after Madame Roland's death by the guillotine serves as the basis of the present work, which deserves high praise. The publishers have given the book fit and tasteful form, and have illustrated it skillfully. He would be a hard-hearted reader indeed who could peruse unconcernedly these touching records of a noble woman's patriotism and suffering.

Prisoner in Buff (A). By Everett T. Tomlinson. Illustrated. 5×8 in. 267 pages. $1.25.
A Continental who was captured by the Tories in the early days of the Revolution, those days of which no American can read without a thrill.

Randy's Summer. By Amy Brooks. Illustrated. Lee & Shepard, Boston. 5×7½ in. 237 pages. $1.
A story for girls; simple and pleasing in effect. It is so slight of texture and commonplace in its setting that one wonders how the author contrived to get into it so much of that illusory quality appealing so strongly to the child mind. The illustrations reveal both skill and grace, and tempt the query whether the story might not have been made for them rather than they for the story.

Rasselas. By Samuel Johnson, LL.D. With an Introduction by the Rev. William West, B.A. (The "Gem" Classics.) James Pott & Co., New York. 4×6¼ in. 262 pages. $1.
The first volume in a new series to be called the Gem Classics; small books daintily printed from a large, clear type, with tasteful title-pages, portraits of authors in photogravure as frontispieces, and bound in Venetian morocco. Special attention is promised on the part of the editors to secure purity of text.

Reporter at Moody's (A). By Margaret Blake Robinson. Illustrated. The Bible Institute Colportage Association, Chicago. 5¼×8 in. 140 pages. 50c.
The Moody Bible Institute, Chicago, is the subject of Miss Robinson's report, which is made with journalistic skill. Nurtured in the Roman Catholic Church, but won over by Mrs. Ballington Booth, under whose influence she came while reporting her for the daily press, Miss Robinson became a student in Mr. Moody's Institute. Her practiced pen has made a very interesting sketch of the students' life there, the work done within and without, the instructors and their methods, and various characteristic incidents.

Short History of American Literature (A). By Walter Bronson, A.M. D. C. Heath & Co., Boston. 4½×7 in. 374 pages. 80c.
Professor Bronson has prepared in this volume a very excellent manual, which, although condensed as a text-book must be, has narrative interest and literary quality. The test of the ability of a historian or critic to deal in a large way with American literature is furnished by his treatment of Emerson, Hawthorne, Poe, and Whitman. In dealing with these writers Professor Bronson shows insight, sanity, and grasp; he perhaps throws the details of Poe's personal life into bolder relief than is necessary, but that is the defect of almost every account of Poe. His view of Whitman is eminently sound. The book is well written, and the quality of interest is not sacrificed by reason of condensation.

Short Story Writing. By Charles Raymond Barrett, Ph.B. The Baker & Taylor Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 257 pages. $1.
This is both an interesting and a useful book. While it is concerned with the special application of rhetorical principles to a particular department of literary art, it carries a general application that all literary workers may profit by, as in its chapters on Titles, Style, and the Labor of Authorship. Perusal of it is likely also to promote among readers a desirable repugnance to the inferior stuff which wastes time that might be better employed. Mr. Barrett's purpose is in the interest of novices who would learn the art of telling a short story as it should be told. His precepts are pointed with numerous critiques upon specimens of poor work, and enriched by references to various books and articles on the subject which amplify and re-enforce his presentation of principles and rules.

Shadowings. By Lafcadio Hearn. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. 5×7½ in. 268 pages. $2.
A pretty piece of book-making, printed and bound in harmony with its contents. Those contents consist of several characteristic tales from the Japanese, retold with Mr. Hearn's sensitive skill, a long discussion on the names of Japanese women, and several of those elusive, delicate bits of impressionism with which Mr. Hearn has made his readers in this country familiar. The book as a whole is stamped with the Japanese sensitiveness to beauty, and is very suggestive of familiarity with the esoteric and unusual.

Series of Meditations (A). By Erastus C. Gaffield. Edited by J. C. F. Grumbine. Published by the Order of the White Rose, Syracuse, N. Y. 4½×7 in. 107 pages.
This book sets forth the leading principles of Theosophy, as held by its representative expositors among us. However one may doubt, dissent, or criticise, it deserves to be borne in mind that every form of religion must be judged by its ethical influence on the conduct of life. The ethical tone of this treatise is strenuous and undeniably wholesome. But its speculations take the form of assertions that catch one up into the air, *e.g.*: "A spirit in whom an uncontrollable desire for reincarnation has been awakened has been known to hover for years about a mother who is sensitive to its expression"—vainly seeking to be born again into this world. The weakness of Theosophy is in its inability to furnish convincing proof of many things that it "knows."

Speech Hesitation. By E. J. Ellery Thorpe. Edgar S. Werner Publishing and Supply Co., New York. 5½×8 in. 75 pages. $1.

Squirrels and Other Fur-Bearers. By John Burroughs. Illustrations in Colors after Audubon. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. 5½×7¾ in. 149 pages. $1.
The fifteen chapters which make up this small quarto record Mr. Burroughs's observations of the squirrel, the chipmunk, the rabbit, the fox, the raccoon, and the other members of the family group described by the title of the book. All the information conveyed was

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gotten at first hand by a trained observer, who also has distinct literary faculty. Mr. Burroughs seems to have culled out those impressions which are on a level with the interest of younger readers. The volume is likely to serve two purposes—to awaken the interest of boys and girls in animals which are wild and yet within observation, and also to serve as a kind of introduction to Mr. Burroughs's writing for older readers; either purpose would justify the publication of the book.

Story of Delight (The). By Evelyn Raymond. A. I. Brady & Co., Boston. 5×7½ in. 324 pages. $1.25.

The experiences of Delight Roloson are likely to prove a delight to a large number of girl readers. The less critically they read, of course, the more complete will be their delight while they follow this young Quakeress, left alone in the world, as she journeys to the city to seek relatives. The critical reader may question the reality of so perfect a community as that which composes the little village of Seabury, where Delight grew up, and some of the vicissitudes which befell Delight herself in the city may seem a trifle bizarre, yet the effect of the story as a whole is wholesomely optimistic.

Studies and Appreciations. By Lewis E. Gates. The Macmillan Co., New York. 4½×7 in. 234 pages. $1.50.

A work of notable quality and distinction from the well-known assistant professor of English at Harvard. The book contains thirteen chapters on various aspects of modern literary development, upon which The Outlook will make more extended comment in a later issue.

Trolley Trips in and about Fascinating Washington. By Katharine M. Abbott. Illustrated. J. F. Jarvis, Washington, D.C. 6×4¼ in. 129 pages. Paper bound, 10c.

True Annals of Fairy-Land (The). Edited by William Canton. Illustrated by Charles Robinson. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 367 pages.

A book which is charming to the eye by reason of the inventiveness and imaginative quality which Mr. Charles Robinson has infused into his illustration, and delightful to the mind by reason of the rich variety of fairy stories which Mr. William Canton has collected and retold, drawn from many parts of the world. Mr. Canton has a genius for writing about children and for them, and genius has not deserted him in the preparation of these tales. One wishes that the reign of King Herla had lasted as long as the situation which evoked the "Arabian Nights."

Under the Great Bear. By Kirk Munroe. Illustrated. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. 4⅝×7½ in. 313 pages. $1.25.

Mr. Kirk Munroe has probably never written a poor book for boys, and the latest addition to his rapidly increasing list, "Under the Great Bear," seems to us the best of any, perhaps because it is so interesting to old as well as to young boys. It seems strange that authors have not oftener chosen the Labrador coast as the setting for stories; but this particular author, in describing that coast and the Arctic Sea, draws upon no second-hand experiences. He describes his own observations there when he tells us about the dangers from icebergs and pictures the wonderful Aurora Borealis. The book is extremely interesting also as putting in popular form the vexed question as to the Newfoundland shore, and particularly the illegal lobster trade there. The taste of the publishers in placing the author's name above that of the title of the book on the back of the cover adds dignity to the volume, but the book sorely lacks a map.

Ursula. By K. Douglas King. John Lane, New York. 5×7¾ in. 303 pages. $1.50.

This, like the author's work in general, is romantic in conception, plot, and incident. Three children, two boys and a girl, all cousins to each other, are wards of an English noble. They are invited to make their home with another relative, the widow of a lately deceased Russian prince. In Russia, that land of mystery, they play out their subsequent parts in a series of melodramatic scenes. The incidents are of the sort which form the usual stock in trade of English writers dealing with Russian life, and which the Russians themselves are wont to declare are utterly lacking in verisimilitude. This story, however, is told in excellent literary form, is bright in dialogue and picturesque in situation.

Valois Romances (The). 3 vols. "Marguerite de Valois," "La Dame de Monsoreau," "The Forty-five Guardsmen." By Alexander Dumas. Illustrated. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. 5½×8¼ in. Per set, $4.50.

This series contains Dumas's well-known description of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew and of the events which followed that most terrible of tragedies. The three stories have been newly translated for this edition. The volumes are illustrated by Mr. Merrill; they are bound in dark red, stamped in gilt, somewhat heavy to the hand, but printed from a large type.

Venetian Republic (The). By W. Carew Hazlitt. The Macmillan Co., New York. 6¼×9¼ in. 2 vols. $12.

This extremely important work is reserved for later notice.

Waifs: A Collection of Miscellany. Edited by Burdette Edgett. Published by the Author, Poughkeepsie. 5×7½ in. 53 pages. 50c.

Wesley Year-Book (The). Selected and Compiled by Mary Yandell Kelly. Publishing House of the M. E. Church South, Nashville, Tenn. 4½×6 in. 191 pages. $1.

When Thou Hast Shut Thy Door. By Rev. G. H. C. MacGregor, M.A. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. 5×7¼ in. 24 pages. 35c.

Wilderness Ways. By William J. Long. (Second Series.) Illustrated. Ginn & Co., Boston. 5½×7½ in. 155 pages.

A hunter who can watch a herd of deer come toward him "with small wish to use a rifle, as there was meat enough in camp," is to be trusted by man as well as beast, and we wish that every boy who is interested in the wild folk of the woods—and what boy is not?—might make the acquaintance of Megaleep the Wanderer and Kagax the Bloodthirsty, and hear from one who has shared it of their life in the summer and the winter woods.

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Notes and Queries

It is seldom possible to answer any inquiry in the next issue after its receipt. Those who find expected answers late in coming will, we hope, bear in mind the impediments arising from the constant pressure of many subjects upon our limited space. Communications should always bear the writer's name and address. Any book named in Notes and Queries will be sent by the publishers of The Outlook, postpaid, on receipt of price.

Will The Outlook please give as full a list as possible of books proper for reading this winter in view of a long vacation to be spent next spring and summer in Spain? We are a party of four, and wish to inform ourselves on the art and literature as well as on the topography and politics of the country to be visited. H. W. C.

Hale, "The Story of Spain" (Putnams, New York); "Seven Spanish Cities" (Roberts, Boston); Lane-Poole, "The Moors in Spain" (Putnams); Watts, "The Christian Recovery of Spain" (Putnams); "Life of Cervantes," and if not in the original, read Watts's translation of "Don Quixote" (Scribners, New York); Fernald, "The Spaniard in History" (Funk & Wagnalls, New York); Hume, "Philip II." (Macmillan, New York); Prescott, "Ferdinand and Isabella," "Philip II.," "Charles V." (Lippincott, Philadelphia); Irving, "The Alhambra," "Life of Columbus," "Conquest of Granada" (Putnams); Hannay, "Emilio Castelar" (Warne, New York); Baedeker, "Spain and Portugal" (Scribners); Amicis, "La Spagna," or the translation entitled "Spain and the Spaniards" (Putnams); Finck, "Spain and Morocco" (Scribners); Hare, "Wanderings in Spain" (Scribners); Gautier, "Voyage en Espagne" or in translation, under the title "Scenes of Travel" (Macmillan); Davillers, "L'Espagne," or the translation (illustrated by Doré) entitled "Spain" (Sampson Lowe, Marston & Co., London); Jaccaci, "On the Trail of Don Quixote" (Scribners); Plummer, "Contemporary Spain" (Truslove & Comba, New York); Clarke, "Spanish Literature" (Macmillan); Galdós, "Zaragoza," or, as translated, "Saragossa" (Little, Brown & Co., Boston); "Marianola," or the translation, "Marianola" (McClurg, Chicago); "Leon Roch" and "Charles IV.," or the translations (Gottsberger Peck, New York); Bazán, "Morriña," or the translation under the title "Homesickness" (Cassell, New York); Valdes, "La Fé," or the translation entitled "Faith" (Cassell); "Maximina," "La Hormana San Sulpicio," or the translations "Maximina" and "Sister Saint Sulpice" (Crowell, New York); Alarcón, "El Final de Norma," or the translation, "Brunhilde" (Lovell, New York); Stirling-Maxwell, "Annals of the Artists of Spain" (Scribners).

All the evidence in favor of demon possession, it seems, may be explained away as purely natural phenomena, except the testimony of our divine Lord in St. Mark v., 1, and following. By conversing with the unclean spirits or devils who have taken up their abode in the Gadarene, Christ gives direct and positive countenance to the Jewish belief in demon possession. We can understand how for various reasons our blessed Lord might tolerate erroneous views on such matters among the Jews as he did upon other questions, but when he gives positive countenance to the fact of obsession, he would be guilty of teaching a superstition, if demon possession is not true in some cases at least. Or does The Outlook see a better explanation of this passage from St. Mark's Gospel? READER.

If you ever have to deal with an insane person like the sufferer in this case, you will not wisely begin by contradicting or antagonizing him. A wise physician deals with a mind diseased by humoring it in a judicious way. If in so doing he does not speak the truth absolutely, he speaks it relatively to the necessities of the sufferer. The Rev. Dr. A. P. Peabody, Professor of Morals at Harvard, said: "The statement that is indispensable to the safety, repose, or reasonable conduct of the insane is virtually true to him, since it conveys impressions as nearly conformed to the truth as he is capable of receiving." Jesus in the case now in point spoke exactly as a wise Christian physician would speak to-day.

Kindly explain the following sentence from The Outlook of September 29: "We have to add that the facts of moral reclamation through hypnotism leave not a shred of reason for the belief that the possibilities of human redemption are closed at death." The sentence occurred at the end of a book notice of "Hypnotism in Mental and Moral Culture." M. G. H.

The book must, of course, be read to produce the same conviction that the writer in The Outlook derived from it. That conviction was derived from its record of cases in which the recovery of moral degenerates has been effected by judicious hypnotic treatment calling into effective action the better nature of the subject. This evinces that there is in apparently hopeless cases of moral wreck a self below or behind the perverted self, which is capable, if roused to action, here or hereafter, of initiating a renewed and better life.

Please give the leading idea in Lotze's philosophy. I am trying to read his "Microcosmus," and find it hard to get his basic principle. Also give the underlying basis of Hegel's system. J.

To understand Lotze, observe that his system holds a mediating position between empiricism (as in Hume) and speculative idealism (as in Hegel). Lotze's method is empirical; his conceptions and results are idealistic. Hegel's basis is wholly outside of experience, in pure reason, according to the dictum, "The rational is the real." His system rests upon the statement that the necessities of thought determine the necessities of being.

A minister receives a salary of $1,100, but wishes to have a $1,200 salary reported. Accordingly, he asks the church board to make his salary $1,200 and he will annually return $100. What does The Outlook think of the morality of such a proposition? SUBSCRIBER.

An arrangement intended to make a fact pass for something other than it really is is a deliberate misrepresentation. We share the general opinion of its moral character.

An instructor at Hampton Institute writes to us that the students in the Bible study course are anxious to have copies of The Outlook containing Dr. Abbott's articles on "The Hebrew Prophets" and "The Life and Literature of the Ancient Hebrews," for use in their work this year, and will be grateful to any readers of The Outlook who will send sets of these series. They should be addressed to The Bible Department, Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va., which can easily make use of a hundred copies of these series. We hope that the pupils of Hampton will receive a ready response to this request.

I have before me a little pamphlet of sixteen pages entitled "A Message from South Africa to the Christian People of Great Britain," by Mrs. Lewis, sister of the Prime Minister of Cape Colony. At the end of the pamphlet there is the following statement, which seems to have been added after the pamphlet was originally printed: "We understand that this letter, to which reference has been made in several papers, was first printed in England in "The Methodist Times." Can any of your readers give the date when this communication from Mrs. Lewis appeared in "The Methodist Times"? L. N. W.

Your correspondent will find "The Deliverance of Leyden," written by Charles F. Richardson, in "Harper's Monthly" for March, 1884, page 623. M. H.

Can some reader of The Outlook give the historic incident from which Leigh Hunt drew the material for "Jaffar"? S. C.

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